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# The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 10, 1904.

## The Week.

Tradition has been broken: an accidental President has won a second term by popular suffrage; and the event is all the more remarkable because Mr. Roosevelt was a Vice-President in spite of himself. This is the reward of having a positive character, a qualification usually the last to be considered in making Vice-Presidential nominations. It is also the reward of intervening actively and managerially in the conduct of the campaign, with all the advantages of the ins over the outs. And if this be objected to on the score of taste, it must be admitted to have been condoned by the vast majority of Northern voters, along with the Panama iniquity and all Mr. Roosevelt's defections from his civil-service-reform professions. His complete subservience to partisanship has knitted his party together, to such a degree that whereas he threw his official weight against Mr. Folk in Missouri, he received the electoral vote of that State while Folk apparently was elected; and whereas Mr. Roosevelt has made his bed with the most bigoted protectionists, in Massachusetts he was the popular choice though the Democratic champion of reciprocity revolt was handsomely made Governor. In other words, the two, and only two, cheering local manifestations of independence—of the duty of a State to look after its own concerns and not to be drawn off by a concurrent Federal party contest—add nothing to the laurels of the victorious President.

The multiplicity of issues enormously favored the party and the Administration on trial. The Opposition sought to force the tariff to the front, but it can hardly be said that the Republican defence was anything but languidly concerned with that topic—hardly more than the Democrats with the currency. But, over and above this—above the attack on imperialism and on what (in default of a better term) we may call Mr. Roosevelt's Caesarism—the predominant issue for the block of Southern States on which Mr. Parker's fortunes depended was Mr. Roosevelt's assumed propaganda against caste and disfranchisement. The result was the most pronounced sectional alignment at the polls since the civil war, and Mr. Parker's entire following after the engagement is seen to be the stronghold of race pride and race injustice. This is, after all, the greatest lesson of Tuesday's election. The North has rebuked—indirectly, it is true, but with sledge-

hammer emphasis—the childish attempt to degrade Mr. Roosevelt socially for one of the simplest, most natural, and most commendable acts of his life, at his own table, in his own house. No one can estimate proportionately the influence of the South's behavior in magnifying defeat by reviving the old anti-slavery sentiment of the North, but it was real, and let who will read the moral of it.

Senator Fairbanks solemnly "deplored" in Indiana the "personal charges" which Judge Parker had been making against the managers of the Republican campaign. Such personalities were shocking to the Senator. Then, to illustrate his own scrupulous consideration for the feelings of political opponents, he gently reminded the Democrats that they were bent on disgracing the nation, ruining business, and driving every workingman into the poorhouse. But neither he nor any Republican can deny the existence of that "vicious circle" of which Judge Parker has spoken so pungently. "Undue protection that riches may be unfairly acquired; contribution of riches so acquired that undue protection may be continued and extended"—that return of corruption upon itself can no more be doubted or explained away than the circling of the Pleiades. It is the serpent of protection twined about the Republican party with its tail in its mouth. Everybody knows it. There is no concealment. The very Republican newspapers which grew black in the face denouncing the charges made against Mr. Cortelyou, admitted that, "naturally, great industrial enterprises and others which see that an administration of the nation's affairs by the party which formally declares that protection is robbery would force them into bankruptcy, have contributed to the Republican campaign fund." The President himself, in the letter forced from him by Judge Parker, admits that "contributions" have been made to his campaign fund by corporations. Less cautious than Mr. Root, he does not limit the admission carefully to "the managers of corporations." And because no one can produce a written agreement pledging the contributing corporation a lien upon Government privileges, Mr. Roosevelt asserts that there is no impropriety in such gifts of money, and that to imply it is to slander the most high-minded President that ever lived—as if the mere acceptance of money from a Trust is not all the guarantee the Trust needs. The President was absolutely silent about the strongest part of Judge Parker's charge, namely, that the "stand-patters" were pouring money into the Republican campaign fund in order that their tariff favors might be per-

petuated and enlarged. That has always been the true gravamen of the accusation.

The President practically confessed that the famous Bureau of Corporations was a humbug. He denied that Mr. Cortelyou had "any knowledge" about corporations "gained while in any official position." And Mr. Root, amplifying the confession in a later speech, declared that "neither the Department nor Mr. Cortelyou nor the President had any information or secret of any corporation" that was not "common to all the world." Indeed! Then what a miserable imposition the Bureau of Corporations has been from the beginning! It was to have been the instrument, in the hands of a determined President, for "crushing" every "bad" Trust. It has been triumphantly adduced again and again as proof of the honest purpose of Mr. Roosevelt and the Republican party to save the people from oppression by the Trusts. By the terms of the law creating the Bureau, enacted as long ago as February 14, 1903, the Commissioner of Corporations was to have "power and authority" to make "diligent investigation" into the organization and conduct of corporations, and to "gather such information and data as will enable the President" to recommend to Congress laws to "regulate" them. A year and nine months pass, and Mr. Root calmly explains that nothing has been done. Why not? Why did not the Commissioner exercise the power conferred upon him by the statute to "subpoena and compel the attendance and testimony of witnesses and the production of documentary evidence"? Plainly, it is now admitted, because nothing of the sort was ever intended; and the Bureau of Corporations was a sham and deception from the first.

Mr. Cleveland's speech at Newark served the excellent purpose of again reminding men whose memories are short that tariff reform is the historic cause for which the Democratic party has fought. Voters who have reached their majority since 1896 may have been misled by President Roosevelt's round assertion in his letter of acceptance that the high-tariff policy should now be "accepted as definitely established." The Democratic platform of 1884 attacked the tariff and promised revision; and in fulfillment of that promise President Cleveland wrote his famous tariff message. In 1888 and again in 1892, when the Democrats carried the day, the tariff was the dominant issue. In 1896 and 1900 the fear of free silver thrust this question for the moment into the background. But while the tariff re-

mains what it is, an unjust burden on the consumer, a bulwark of monopoly, and the most potent cause of political corruption in America, some political party—if not the Democratic, some other—will maintain John Bright's thesis that "the efforts of all honest men should be directed to prevent the beginning of such a mischief, and to destroy it where unhappily it has been permitted to take root." If men should hold their peace about the iniquity of the tariff, the stones would cry out.

One of the meanest Republican performances of the late campaign was a deliberate personal attack upon Mr. Carl Schurz in a widely distributed "appeal to the Germans" with many well-known signatures attached. Most of the men who actually signed it, we prefer to believe, did so as most people sign appeals and petitions—at the solicitation of friends and without stopping to read, and were ashamed to find that they had inadvertently appended their names to the statement that Mr. Schurz has "changed his politics as often as his residence," and that he "only had to pocket the reward held out to him for his temporary fidelity to a cause or a party." We say inadvertently appended, for no men realize better than some of the signers we could name, Mr. Schurz's unswerving devotion to principle, no matter what it costs him in abuse and misrepresentation. We are glad to learn from the *Staats-Zeitung* that a large number of the alleged signers of the appeal deny having put their names to it, that others have written their apologies to Mr. Schurz, and that still others are keenly mortified at the position in which they have been placed by their own carelessness.

There can no longer be any doubt whether President Roosevelt is truly "Labor's Friend." The fact is certified by T. J. Shaffer, president of the Amalgamated Association of Iron Workers. He declared in the *Labor World* that it was "the duty of the working classes to support their friends"; and Codlin was the friend, not Short. Shaffer adds, in order to show how true a friend of labor the President is: "I firmly believe that President Roosevelt intends to knock on the head every illegal combination of capital there is in this country." As proof of the entire disinterestedness of this endorsement, it is merely necessary to remark that Mr. T. J. Shaffer is an applicant for appointment by the President as Commissioner of Labor.

At last we have an official explanation of Gov. Odell's object in becoming State chairman. He said last week that he had "assumed these great responsibilities" solely to put down electoral frauds

in New York city. "It was for this reason and no other." But what a splendid chance he had to add that, immediately after the election, he would resign the chairmanship, and, after January 1, retire to private life. Such a statement by him would at once have removed the load under which the Republican party in this State was staggering, and would have been worth many votes for Mr. Higgins. What frightens people is that Odell proposes to remain at the head of the Republican machine, and to manage it with the same tyranny and self-seeking that have made "Odellism" an offence to thousands of Republicans. They dread it more than they do a Democratic victory in this State. This he knows perfectly well. Yet his personal organ, the *Newburgh News*, goes on calling Republicans who dislike the Governor "traitors," and intimates that his hand will be still heavier upon them in the future. The fact that he succeeded in carrying New York though Higgins lagged far behind the national ticket, confirms the threat.

Any one who has deplored the failure of the House of Representatives to assert itself will find pleasant reading in the spirited correspondence which has recently taken place between Attorney-General Moody and Congressman Augustus P. Gardner of Massachusetts. The trouble arose over the postmastership at Haverhill. The place is in Mr. Gardner's district, and he had made a selection for it, when suddenly he learned that Mr. Moody, who lives in Haverhill, had recommended to the President the retention of the present postmaster. This the Congressman very promptly resented. He had yielded to the Attorney-General early in the summer in the selection of delegates to the National Convention, but insisted on his prerogative now. "It is not a parallel case in Massachusetts," he said, "with those other States where the Senators select the postmasters." Precedent as well as natural right was on his side. "I am also informed," he wrote a little later, "that when the Hingham post-office became vacant some years ago, the necessary recommendation was made by the local Congressman, albeit the Hon. John D. Long, at that time Secretary of the Navy, was a resident of Hingham." Mr. Moody's share in the exchange of letters is just 13 lines out of 250, but it is to be recorded that he got the appointment. Saying nothing of the likelihood that the Federal fabric will come tumbling about our heads, the Congressman's plight is pathetic enough. "Even after I have given out the facts," he says, "I shall suffer a tremendous loss of strength among my friends, as human nature is so constituted that it seldom believes what a politician says." Thus it would appear that skepticism, in Massa-

chusetts, broadens down from Lodge to his son-in-law, irreverently known as "Gussie" Gardner.

The Supreme Court, Mr. Justice White dissenting, has upheld the Wisconsin Anti-Boycott law. The case was an uncommonly clear and satisfactory one, because the conspiracy was purely commercial, no issue of labor and capital being involved. The *Milwaukee Journal* having raised its advertising rates, two rival papers refused to print the notices of advertisers in the *Journal* except at its rates, meanwhile promising a handsome rebate to *Journal* advertisers who should refuse to continue on the new basis. In other words, inducements were offered to make the patrons of a rival newspaper resist its increase of rates. The defence naturally was freedom of contract. It was held that every step in the transaction was lawful. The defendants had a right to charge what they chose for advertising service, and the public, naturally, a right to profit by such competitive rate-cutting. On this matter Mr. Justice Holmes, for the court, held that freedom of contract did not extend to including provisions clearly malicious and injurious, while on the point of the innocence of acts which lead to a wrongful result he read the following very interesting opinion:

"No conduct has such an absolute privilege as to justify all possible schemes of which it may be a part. The most innocent and constitutionally protected of acts or omissions may be made a step in a criminal plot, and, if it is a step in a plot, neither its innocence nor the Constitution is sufficient to prevent the punishment of the plot by law."

Some of the Alabama hotheads are reported to be trying to induce the Legislature of that State to withdraw its annual appropriation for the maintenance of Tuskegee Institute, on the ground that Mr. Booker T. Washington has been dabbling in politics. So far as we are able to observe, Mr. Washington's political activity has been limited to giving extremely good advice when he was asked for it. If, however, it is meant by the charge that the best-known colored citizen of the South has declined to accept as final the suffrage conditions of his race to-day, we presume he must plead guilty. But, singularly enough, the one allegation which has been made against him by men of his own color has been his failure to be more active on behalf of their political rights. As a matter of fact, Mr. Washington realizes, with the wisdom that has marked his entire career, that he is primarily the head of a great school—one of the greatest in the United States, and that his first duty is to it. Even the leadership of his people, to which his natural abilities call him, is secondary to his duties as principal. For Alabama to deprive his school of



its appropriation, at the behest of its Heflins, would be a grave step backward, which could only injure the State and the entire South by causing a widespread feeling of resentment among all who believe in education as a solvent of the problems of our democracy. Fortunately, the Legislature does not meet again for at least two years, by which time the hotheads should have cooled off.

How this city's expenditures have swollen since consolidation is evident from the new \$110,000,000 budget, now officially adopted. In its first year, Greater New York cost \$77,559,232. In seven years departmental expenditures have gone up nearly \$54,500,000. This increase, however, cannot of itself be set down as proof of extravagance. Our best administrators are frequently more expensive, in actual outlay, than our worst. Thus, Mayor Low's last budget exceeded Van Wyck's last by some \$8,000,000. Mayor McClellan, on the other hand, has taken a firm stand for economy. He has increased the budget only \$3,880,000—probably just about enough, with the enlarged population, to keep the city going as it is. The increase, it is estimated, will be covered by larger valuations for purposes of taxation, and a substantial growth in the general fund, so that there will be no material change in the tax rate. Probably departmental estimates were never more ruthlessly cut down. Proposals for wholesale salary increases have not been tolerated. Building Superintendent Hopper, who planned to reform his bureau by raising everybody's salary, has received no consideration. Tenement Commissioner Crain, whose department has also been generally criticised, gets precisely what he had this year. Commissioner Woodbury said that he could not properly do his work unless he had \$1,113,000 more; he gets \$245,000. Commissioner McAdoo, in order to carry out his plans for enlarging the police force, demanded an increase of nearly \$2,000,000; he must do the best he can with a quarter of that amount. And so all along the line. Under Mayor McClellan the departments will not undertake much new work. Indeed, the only large increases are in departments where the Board of Estimate has now little discretion. The two main items are nearly \$2,000,000 for interest on the city debt, and \$1,084,000 for the Board of Education, mainly to equip and man the twenty-six new schools and additions now under way. Here again we see how one Administration influences the financial policy of its successor, for most of these sorely needed schools were authorized under Mayor Low.

Like the fabled sword victim, who, until the pinch of snuff was administered, could not believe his head was off, our

New York public has waited for oxygen percentages before it felt it was being half-suffocated in the subway. An examination of the air in many stations shows that, except at City Hall, the percentage of oxygen is so low as to be prejudicial to health. This on the platforms; in the trains the situation is correspondingly worse. In short, science comes to explain the dull feeling in transit and the depression afterwards. Assurances that the trains act like a piston are palpably false. In the London Tube, where the train fits the tunnel within a foot or so, that is the case; in our large four-track gallery a train presenting a "piston" surface of less than a quarter of the section merely stirs the air about. The true figure is not a piston, but a churn, and passing expresses and locals no more draw in fresh air than a dasher, however vigorously worked, draws in additional cream. Forced ventilation should immediately be introduced at all the subway stations.

A report of the British Consul at Panama speaks of "the virtual economic annexation of Panama" by the Americans. He shows how our first interpretation of the treaty took over not only the canal strip, but all of the cities of Panama and Colon except "two small patches wedged in at the two extremities of the American zone." And the rigid and precipitous application of Dingley duties as against foreign countries was calculated not merely to give American exporters a great advantage, but to ruin the trade beyond the border. It is no wonder that the real Panamanians protested against the complete surrender of their rights by their pro-tempore Minister at Washington, the discredited Bunau-Varilla.

Before going to the country, Premier Giolitti broke the long-standing alliance with the Socialists—the *connubio*, as the Italians love to call it ironically; and though he has been reflected with all his ministers, the sources of his majority in the new Parliament are not yet apparent. The Extreme Left, whose strength has been reduced, by estimate, from some ninety to about seventy seats, will unquestionably be in Opposition, and the Government will have to make up this loss from the relatively conservative groups of the Right. That is, a majority already sufficiently composite must take on still another incongruous element, or fall altogether—a fact which explains the curious spectacle of a Radical Government endorsing in various constituencies now a Socialist, now a Liberal, or even a Conservative or Clerical candidate. By such preliminary manipulation, Giolitti, who is a master of the electoral game, has hoped to bring together to Montecitorio the constituent

parts of a new ministerial coalition. Will his overtures to the Right alienate his staunch supporters among the Parliamentary Socialists, or will they by fidelity to him show that they have wholly lost their character as a collectivist party? Will Giolitti's old enemies of the Right welcome either his usurping their ideas or his bid for their votes? Are we to expect reaction in Italy through the return of the Church to politics, or merely a halt in the Liberal and Socialist movement of the past three years? These are some of the problems that make Italy in transition one of the most interesting nations in the world. And the answer will hardly come even with the complete electoral returns next week. It lies somewhere between Turati, greatest of Parliamentary socialists, and Sonnino, adept in conservative politics, and Giolitti, in spite of the verbal contradiction, finest of Radical opportunists.

We read only after weeks the story of the assault on Port Arthur by which, in the last days of August, Nogi got his foothold below the Liaotie semi-circle. The story of warfare holds no more sensational page. For many days the battle swayed over ground netted with wire and planted with mines. At night the searchlights guided the cannonading. Estimates of the losses are the merest speculation; but one learns of Japanese regiments that brought back only a tenth from the charge, of single unsuccessful attacks that cost fifteen hundred lives, of daily losses of a hundred men in stationary protected positions. Quarter was neither asked nor given on either side; no truce was accorded for the removal of the wounded or the burial of the dead, and pestilence in the beleaguering camp added to these horrors. In the end, after a sacrifice of lives which must be reckoned by thousands, the Japanese were reduced to regular siege operations by parallels; and in six weeks' time they have apparently failed to make the mile that separates them from the western forts, though meanwhile the garrison must have lost substantially in men and supplies. On strictly military grounds, it is hard to justify this slaughter. Cyama's northern armies have been crippled for want of the troops diverted to the Kwantung peninsula. A force of forty thousand men could have invested Port Arthur and reduced it by gradual siege operations. Indeed, the value of that fortress is chiefly naval. The only reason for pressing the siege would be a serious attempt to send the Baltic squadron around. The strategy of Tokio finds its sole justification in the tremendous moral effect that the fall of Port Arthur would have upon the populace of Russia and the chancelleries of the world. That effect Nogi will probably have bought too dearly.

## ROOSEVELT AND FOLK.

Wellington complained that he had been, in his public life, "much exposed to authors." President Roosevelt has been exposed to his intimate friends. His kitchen Cabinet has been as grotesque in its way as Jackson's. The confidants whom he has had about him, deep in his secrets and bursting with information about his plans, policies, and preferences, are an extraordinary collection. They embrace complacent little Mugfords of journalism; Boswells with all the toadying and gush but without the skill; divines in search of information and religious convictions; foreigners only half-naturalized and less than half-baked; swashbuckling writers and happy-thought publicists—the list is as long as it is miscellaneous. These nondescript professional "friends of the President" have done him harm, not simply because it is a reflection upon any man to have such parasites and flatterers always at his ear, but because they are forever getting him into trouble and compelling him to repudiate them even while they fawn upon him. For example, take the attitude of President Roosevelt respecting Mr. Folk's candidacy for the Governorship of Missouri.

There was a recent intimation made by *Collier's Weekly* that Mr. Roosevelt, in spite of his professed admiration for Mr. Folk as the most conspicuous and determined enemy of political corruptionists, was allowing it to be known that he hoped for Folk's defeat. A little investigation on our own account has put us in possession of the facts. It appears to be another case in which the President has been "in the hands of his friends," to his own disadvantage, and, we should think, to their mortification. The mischief originated with Mr. William Allen White of Kansas. Discretion not being his forte, he let it be known, in his capacity as mouthpiece of the White House, that Mr. Roosevelt was heartily for Folk and hoped that many Republicans would quietly vote for him. This was but natural, in Mr. White's mind. Was not the President, on his own confession, the most resolute foe of grafters? Had he not inspired at least one magazine article showing how, in the post-office scandals, he had defied the New York Senators and party pressure in order to get his clutches on the rascals? The fact that the New York Senators denied interfering did not discompose Mr. White of Kansas; and knowing how bitter was Mr. Roosevelt's hatred of boodlers, he went up and down asserting that of course the President was for Folk, that he could not but be, since to suppose that he desired the success of the Missouri corruptionists in their efforts to overthrow Mr. Folk was an insult. It was absurd to say that Mr. Roosevelt was not in sympathy with the anti-graft

campaign in the West, which has led so many honest men to subscribe to the campaign fund at once of Mr. Deneen in Illinois and Mr. Folk in Missouri.

So much for one friend of the President's. But another promptly arrived upon the scene. He told Mr. Roosevelt that White's splashing around in that way was making Republicans angry. Was the President a party man or was he not? Could he maintain that its monopoly of virtue ended with Presidential candidates, and that a Republican nominee for Governor was not, *ipso facto*, superior to his opponent? This view appealed to the President, and he authorized friend No. 2 to write a letter declaring that friend No. 1 had misrepresented him.

But, alas, friend No. 2 proceeded to do exactly the same thing—so the President asserted later. In excess of zeal he made his letter too strong. He was not content with arguing that it was preposterous to imagine that Mr. Roosevelt would not favor the election of any regularly nominated Republican, however bad, over any Democrat, however good, but asserted in so many words that the President thought Walbridge "a better man than Folk." The letter was extensively "shown" in Missouri, and in an evil hour was shown also to certain independent voters, who indignantly took the matter to the White House. There followed "a scene"—in fact, we understand, several scenes, enough to make a comic opera. Finally, friend No. 2 was ordered to recant. Accordingly, he wrote letter No. 2. His first had been "misunderstood." When he had said that Mr. Roosevelt thought Walbridge a better man than Folk, he had meant "purely in his capacity as a political candidate," etc., etc.

If the whole incident provokes laughter, it is a laughter which teaches certain truths. Government, said Burke, is an affair of go-betweens. Then they ought to be very carefully chosen. Mr. Roosevelt's have not sufficiently observed the difference between going between and "butting in." Yet, after each incident of the kind, the kitchen Cabinet remains as before. Its reorganization would appear to be one of the President's most urgent duties. Another one is a rebuke of Ambassador Choate for having called Mr. Roosevelt "the chief of Independents." Mr. Roosevelt's political independence is solely for consumption between elections. In actual voting he is always for "keeping up the organization," even when, as in the present instance, it would mean filling boodlers with joy at the defeat of their implacable foe, and setting back the cause of reform throughout the whole country.

## THE CASE OF MR. BUNN.

Thanks to the activity of the Penn-

sylvania Civil Service Reform Association, there has been unearthed one of the most genial attempts to assess Federal office-holders in many years. For its unconscious humor, for its frank and unblushing avowal that officials of the United States have no higher duty than to work for the "organization," and for its complete exposure of Philadelphia machine methods, the circular sent out by Jacob G. Bunn, lately finance clerk of the Philadelphia post-office, must long remain a classic in the literature of civil-service reform. Bunn's own head has fallen. An investigation by Civil Service Commissioner Cooley brought out so many violations of the law that his decapitation was a matter of course. But his name will long survive even the memory of his official career. Bunn on Illicit Campaign Contributions should rank hereafter with some of the highest legal authorities on torts.

Bunn himself, with the modesty ever becoming in an author, would share his laurels with others. At the inquisition into his methods he insisted, but in vain, that his name had been signed without his knowledge or his consent to the literary achievement which has brought him sudden fame. The documents for which he was so cruelly deprived of his lucrative Federal office lie before us. They seem to exhibit the same desire to be business-like and thorough in campaign-time which has been so marked a characteristic of Mr. Cortelyou's management. Mr. Bunn and his associates also want to get out the vote and collect all the campaign money in sight. So they sent word to office-holders and others:

"Bring in at next meeting Written List of Office Holders, wanted for Election Day. Use some discretion and do not expect to have excused the entire Police Force, Fire Department, and Clerical and Mechanical Force of the city. Public interests make such a proposition impossible. Election Day is not a holiday, but a working day for the Organization to get busily-forgetful and disinterested citizens to vote. Do not wait until Election Day—see that your particular Division is thoroughly canvassed. Use every means from now to Election Day to arouse and enthrall Republican voters. It is remarkable that it is necessary to remind citizens of their duty to vote for ROOSEVELT AND FAIRBANKS."

In order that no guilty officeholder should escape and no spurious contributor pass himself off as a real, live recipient of a Federal salary, the following "Note" appeared:

"Please send by return mail a photograph of yourself. If not recent and up-to-date, kindly sit for same immediately and forward a prepared proof, to be used for half-tone work. We want every Councilman, School Director, and Member of Ward Committee."

With this appeal went two elaborate blanks which reflect infinite credit upon the great Mr. Bunn. Upon them were to be entered full details as to the names, addresses, and employments of all Federal and municipal office-holding and non-office-holding voters in the ward. In



the case of the office-holders there are such significant headings as "salary per day" and "salary per year," "date of appointment," and "upon whose recommendation." In the case of the Republicans who do not hold office, there is deep significance in the demand that the names of the "present judge," the majority and minority inspectors and clerks at the polling-place of each voter be appended. Any one familiar with Philadelphia political methods will appreciate the convenience of having this information at hand.

Naturally, Bunn *et al.* were the best men to fix what proportion of his salary each office-holder should dedicate to the machine. They were particularly anxious to be square about it. In their own words:

"In order that some equitable basis may be recognized from those who desire to contribute voluntarily to the support of the Republican Organization in the 28th Ward, the suggestion has been made that all those receiving \$1,000 and over contribute one per cent., under \$1,000 one-half of one per cent., all per-diem men one day's pay, but no contribution solicited under \$2.00. This money is only payable to the member of the Finance Committee from your Division, from whom you will get a regular printed form of receipt, and in addition, to prevent gross injustice being done contributors, a plan has been adopted by which the Financial Secretary, JACOB G. BUNN, who resides at 2418 North 30th St., will verify the amount of every contribution by mail with every individual contributor."

Mr. Bunn also announced that "the members of the finance committee will positively solicit no contribution from police officers"—doubtless because other arrangements had been made. On the other hand, Mr. Bunn knew the value of precise information. Hence he added the following queries to the blanks pertaining to office-holders:

"As an Organization Worker, what use is he? ..... If no use, what hustler in your Division would you recommend for his place? ..... As a voluntary Contributor, are his contributions the amount suggested? ..... Does he contribute appreciatively, begrudgingly, defiantly, or ignore the Organization altogether? Let us have the facts. ...."

Mr. Bunn explained the necessity for this by pointing out that "particularly those who sought the support of the Republican organization, were successfully recommended, and now are fearful to be known as a Republican, dodge every responsibility under the bugaboo of civil service."

Naturally, Mr. Bunn and his fellow-authors, William J. Binder, president, and Harvey L. Frantz, treasurer, wanted to hear no more of such ingratitude. They were anxious, too, that in creating the North Philadelphia Business Men's League, no "Fakes, Bluffs, or Hot Air Contingents" be proposed for membership. What must be their opinion now of the leader of their own party of moral ideas, when, in the hour of apparent victory, he undid all their hard work, and ruthlessly cut short so promising a literary career as that of Jacob G. Bunn?

#### TRUSTS AND THEIR PROSECUTORS.

"Our opponents," said Judge Parker at Hartford on Thursday, "have the effrontery to claim that they alone have shown any desire to oppose the Trusts. Their claim is as false as it is flagrant." Mr. Roosevelt himself had helped to circulate the misrepresentation. In his letter of acceptance the President spoke of the action of the Attorney-General in enforcing the anti-Trust laws and interstate commerce laws, as having "for the first time opened a chance for the national Government to deal intelligently and adequately with the question arising from the growth of the Trusts." He added that "these laws are now being administered with entire efficiency." Admitting that the increase in numbers and power of the Trusts was due largely to official neglect of duty, he made the bald assertion that "such stricture upon the failure of the officials of the national Government to do their duty in this matter is certainly not wholly undeserved as far as the Administration preceding Mr. McKinley's is concerned, but it has no application at all to Republican administrations."

This slur upon the Cleveland Administration cannot be sustained by the facts, and is so obviously capable of refutation as to make it astonishing that the able editors of the President's letter allowed it to stand. Moreover, Mr. Roosevelt's language conveys the impression to the average reader that his Administration alone has sallied forth, bent on crushing the "octopuses." The Republican campaign committee freely advertised a misinformed editorial which appeared in the *World* in March last, and which contained, among other errors, the statement that Theodore Roosevelt was the first President and Attorney-General Knox the first attorney-general to enforce and test the anti-Trust law. In giving this editorial their endorsement, the Republicans thus made it appear that President McKinley and his Attorney-General entirely neglected their sworn duty.

The records show that the very first President to attempt to enforce the anti-Trust law was a Republican President, but his name was Harrison, not Roosevelt. His Attorney-General, Mr. W. H. Miller, sued the Sugar Trust, but was defeated in both the lower courts. When President Cleveland succeeded Mr. Harrison, the litigation was still pending, and Mr. Richard Olney saw to it that the Republican lawyer, Mr. S. F. Phillips, a former solicitor-general of the United States, in charge of the Government's case, argued it before the Supreme Court. This he did, only to meet defeat, largely on the ground that mere concentration of ownership in an agricultural, manufacturing, or mining industry was not under Federal control. The famous *Trans-Missouri* case was also brought to a hear-

ing in the Circuit Court during the Harrison Administration, but the Government's bill of appeal, prosecuted later by Attorney-General Olney, only met the same fate at the hands of the Circuit Court of Appeals.

It was Mr. Olney's successor, Attorney-General Harmon, who did the most important anti-Trust work, and who obtained a brilliant personal victory in the *Trans-Missouri* case over a number of distinguished New York and Chicago lawyers. The result was a decision for the United States upon all points, but the judgment was delayed by the Supreme Court until a few days after the inauguration of Mr. McKinley. Not content with this activity, Mr. Harmon directed a similar suit against the Joint Traffic Association, which was also successful after Mr. McKinley came into office. To Mr. Harmon also belongs the great credit of having set in motion the *Addyston Pipe* Trust case, out of which came the first decision that the anti-Trust law applied to a manufacturing combination. This had seemed highly improbable of achievement after the *Sugar Trust* case.

As in the two other cases, the decision against the *Pipe Trust* was handed down under Attorney-General McKenna, who instituted several other unsuccessful proceedings. Under Attorney-General Griggs, affirmances in the *Addyston Pipe* and *Joint Traffic* cases was secured, but, so far as we are informed, Mr. Griggs did not institute any new proceedings. What the present Administration has done is simply to follow in the footsteps of its predecessors and apply the decisions to newly discovered facts. These facts are not new. They have been brought out in Congress; and in the press by Mr. Edward B. Whitney, who was a member of the Department of Justice under Mr. Cleveland. But they have been deliberately overlooked, precisely as it has been convenient to ignore the vain attempts of the Cleveland Administration to obtain from a Republican Congress an amendment to the anti-Trust act which would strengthen the Government's hands, with money enough to enforce the law.

#### THE CANADIAN ELECTIONS.

No very clear issue was settled at the Canadian voting booths on Thursday. Sir Wilfrid Laurier went before the country on his record, which includes chiefly the negotiation of the Grand Trunk extension to the Pacific, a demand for diplomatic autonomy for the Dominion, the application of the preferential duties to South Africa, and a promise, not pressed of late, to revise the tariff. In opposition to these pledges and achievements, the Conservatives demanded a more drastic protective policy, criticised the mixed contract with the Grand Trunk, urging Government

ownership of the line; and made much of charges of corruption and of the Dundonald affair.

The defeat of the Conservatives was expected; actually, they have suffered a rout. A slight reduction in the Liberal majority in Quebec is made up by a clean sweep in Nova Scotia. Manitoba and the Northwest generally—very doubtful provinces politically—have declared strongly for Sir Wilfrid Laurier. The Opposition leader, Mr. R. L. Borden, was defeated, meeting the fate of his predecessor, Sir Charles Tupper, four years ago. Sir Wilfrid Laurier returns with an increased majority—probably seventy or so, in a House of 214.

It seems to have been a waste of time for the Opposition to attack as they did the Grand Trunk contract; that agreement, with its various provisions for the advancing of Government credit, leases, refunding, and the like, was simply too complicated to be understood by the average elector, who apparently voted for the immediate good of a transcontinental railway and trusted his Government for the means. Much was made out of the tiff of the Commanding General, Lord Dundonald, with the Minister of Militia. But any effect of the exposure of the latter's partisan interference with the service was nullified by Dundonald's too clearly manifested scorn for his colonial superiors. Imperial reciprocity hardly figured in the contest. In fact, the Liberals were safely and platonically on record in its favor, and could point to the denunciation of the German trade treaty and the British and South African preferentials as their work. Savage demands for higher tariffs rung hollow in view of the great industrial prosperity of the Dominion. Indeed, the Liberals, with their bounties to iron, lead, and fisheries, could hardly be outbid in devotion to the mercantile theory. So, in default of real issues, the Conservatives rested their case on the assertion that they were somehow more patriotic, more imperially minded, than the Liberals. To a shrewd and hustling people more eager for trade advantages than for sounding names, there seemed to be no good reason for turning out an efficient premier, or for engaging in tariff fights in behalf of a mere formula which the mother country may or may not adopt.

This eminently practical turn of the Canadian voter had been illustrated a few days earlier in Premier Bond's extraordinary victory in Newfoundland. Representing a policy of independence for the colony, reciprocity with the United States, and in general the autonomous development of the industries of the island, he carried the constituencies five to one. His opponent advanced chiefly the imperialistic argument of union with the Dominion. In all British America, then, Imperialism as such has been

either rebuked or ignored. Thus does a proper self-interest treat Brummagem dreams of an empire leagued against the world for some commercial Armageddon.

For the United States this double victory of the Liberals may be of the highest importance. It means the extension of an opportunity. Premier Bond's name stands with that of Secretaries Blaine and Hay on a reciprocity treaty which would build up an export trade in food-stuffs and agricultural and mining machinery, while lowering the price of fish to the American consumer. Sir Wilfrid Laurier has always been in favor of an equitable readjustment of tariffs between the United States and Canada. It is known that he would be glad to reassemble the Joint High Commission to consider this and other matters outstanding between Ottawa and Washington. The Republicans of Massachusetts and Minnesota agree in demanding the removal of trade obstructions; with thousands of voters for Dingleyism the conviction lurks that it is absurd to pay the price of conquest over-seas and to scour the globe for trade, when we front for three thousand miles what should be our greatest market in the future and our greatest purveyor. We need Canada's timber and minerals and live stock and fish and grain; she needs in a thousand instances our manufactures, both fundamental and secondary. Already New England seeks that outlet for her shoes, cottons, watches, and finer products generally, while she wants on better terms the coal and the nickel of the Dominion. All along the border the case is the same—a trade potentially great and mutually profitable hampered by the most ingeniously harmful restrictions of the Dingley tariff.

Why, it may be asked, should our Northwestern millers be forbidden to grind Canadian wheat except under bond; why should every newspaper pay double toll on its raw material, wood pulp? Why should we eat dearer fish that they may be caught or smuggled by American fishermen? On the other hand, why should the wheat-growers of the Assiniboine at once pay duty on their reapers and be shut out of the nearest market; why should Canada stumbingly and at great cost duplicate those manufactures for which we have unique material advantages and the dearly won experience of years? If a shoemaker and a market gardener live side by side, and the man of cabbages undertook to make shoes for his family, and the cordwainer attempted to grow his own vegetables in window-boxes, the neighbors would call them both fools until a reciprocity treaty was negotiated across the fence. Why, then, do two great nations live on such unneighborly terms?

Because, instead of sensible advisers, they have thousands of interested persons in council: manufacturers who fear

that their dole may cease, politicians who abhor the prospect of a party which, granting no unfair favors, can extort no excessive contributions; timid people who will accept any injustice rather than upset trade conditions; ambitious schemers of the Lodge type, with their little groups of tolerated smugglers to oblige, their phrases to maintain. Of such are the enemy. But against them the very situation fights, and the expectancy of Canada and Newfoundland must some day be interpreted, not with the Lodges as a hostile advance upon our markets, but as a fair appeal for a normal understanding on all trade matters—for tariffs drawn, not by politicians for the benefit of a handful of party protégés, but by statesmen for the mutual advantage of two great nations.

#### THE GENERAL ELECTIONS IN ITALY.

FLORENCE, October 19-22, 1904.

The royal decree dissolving the late Parliament and convoking the electoral colleges for November 6, with re-balloting on the 13th, appeared yesterday evening in the *Official Gazette*, prefaced by the ministerial report to his Majesty, in which are stated the reasons that have induced them to advise this immediate appeal to the country, instead of awaiting the legal termination of the Twenty-first Legislature, inaugurated on the 16th of June, 1900. The "report" contains a brief sketch of the measures proposed and carried during the late session, and also unfolds the entire Ministerial programme for the future. This is an unusual course, almost "without precedent," say the malcontents. Unusual it is, both in Italy and in England. Mr. Gladstone used to "enumerate to the Queen the pros and cons for dissolution," and then enter on his "oratorical crusades," addressing meetings outside of as well as within his own constituency; and this custom has been followed almost invariably in Italy. But Signor Giolitti is disinclined to "star the country." It is doubtful whether he will address his own electors, nor will his ex-colleagues visit other colleges save those which they lately represented, or, if uncertain of reelection, such others as may offer them a second string to their bow.

Up to the 20th of September it was believed that the elections would not take place earlier than next spring, as there were many important measures to be discussed during the winter session; nor for another week did any sign appear that the general strike in Milan, or the partial strikes in other cities, had made any impression on the imperturbable minister—at least any that would influence his conduct. It seemed a safe policy to let the agitation die out of its own accord, allow the reactionaries time in which to calm their terror by the reflection that, if many windows had been smashed, few heads had been broken, that therefore the decision not to call out the military had been wise and humane; give the proletaires leisure to repent their hasty strike, and to take note of the impotence of the demagogues who had promised them the immediate downfall, if not the dismissal, of the "bloodthirsty Min-



istry," and who in reality counted so much less than nothing that they had not even succeeded in the reconvoation of the Chambers. The good-humored, calm, but keen parliamentary Speaker, Biancheri, in whose hands lay the power to reconvene, coolly told the delegates of the "Extremists" that he saw no reason or motive for summoning members to Rome before the time fixed when Parliament rose (*i. e.*, November 25). But the revolutionary Socialists, both in their private meetings and when united with the Republicans in the plenary assembly of the Extreme Left (radical, republican, socialistic "Popular Union"), insisted on violent measures and the revival of the obstructionist tactics which in 1899 triumphed over Pelloux's coercion bill, prevented the modification of the rules of parliamentary procedure, and finally overthrew the Ministry which had passed the coercion bill, by royal decree. Though the Radicals and evolutionary Socialists rejected this proposal, it was certain that the revolutionists *could* obstruct, and, as John Bright once observed, a costermonger and a donkey can upset an express train by crossing the rails at its approach. Again, the agitation of the railroad employees; the novel "obstruction" of the custom-house servants; the desperate unrest of the populations of the Puglie, who affirm that the renewed Austro-Hungarian commercial treaty confirms their ruin, excluding their wines from the favored-nation clause—made it clear to all that the House could not in November calmly discuss the grand question of the future operation of the railways by the State or by private companies, or the measures that must be taken to redress the grievances of the Puglie.

Hence, as a warning and a necessary precaution, the Government called to the colors the category of 1888—*i. e.*, all the males born in that year who at twenty-four years of age hoped to remain at home save in case of war. They may have received the summons with curses deep and low on the strikes and their instigators, but the timid propertied classes were reassured, and almost forgave the minister for his neutrality in September, receiving the announcement as a sure and certain sign that the general elections were decided on. These were unanimously desired by all but such Deputies as fear for their seats; but the inscrutable premier, who does not always share his counsels with his colleagues, and never with outsiders, kept all on tenterhooks until the eve of the 18th instant, and even then, having the decree and the report printed in the prison printing-house, did not allow a single copy to be issued in Rome until all the prefects in the country had been furnished with the revises. Finally a copy reached the Chamber of Deputies, but their library and reading-rooms are still in such disorder that they called on the famous journalist Deputy Clemen to read it aloud to the assembled members present at Montecitorio.

The document in itself is, of course, a replica of ministerial programmes in general, but in some respects it is worthy of note. The quiet sarcasm of the portions that relate to the "abuse of liberty by the greatest agitators for liberty in the absolute," made more than one demagogue wince—nay, writhe; while the mild remind-

er to "the propertied classes that even they need higher education in the doctrine of liberty, seeing that they have not yet comprehended that, under a liberal régime, they should not and must not await everything from the Government, but must take, as citizens, more vigorous action for the protection of their own legitimate interests," is language so new as to sound in their ears like a foreign tongue. They expected the Premier to cry *Peccati* for not having called out the troops during the general strike, and to pledge his word that on future occasions he would defend their life and property as in the May days of 1898, when the great cities were all in a stage of siege and the civilians arrested were tried by military tribunals. But the ministerial programme reaffirms the intention of the Government to adhere to liberal ideas, and to act conformably as hitherto to secure liberty within the limits of law and order, which exclude alike reaction and demagoguery.

"Faith in liberal policy cannot be shaken by the violence of a small minority which the entire nation has condemned. The late disorders have proved that the revolutionary element fears liberty, which deprives them of their *raison d'être*, of all prestige; hence [during the general strike], they suppressed all liberty, including that of the press. Liberty is necessary for the welfare and progress of the working classes, in both city and country, and it is to be hoped that they will learn to understand where their own interests lie, and find sufficient dignity to refuse to submit to interested tyranny which comes from below. . . . This liberal policy finds its adversaries in the two extreme parties [clerical Conservatives and revolutionary Socialists], but late events must have proved to them that any sudden disturbance of order brings on the scene the criminal classes, the worst elements of society, whose excesses they are powerless to prevent, thus rendering themselves responsible for the crimes committed."

In order to control more efficiently these criminal classes, the Government will demand an increase of the police force (In Italy, we may observe, it is the quality rather than the quantity that is deficient). Hereon follows the announcement that staggered many even of the ministerialists: namely, of the intention of the Government to propose State operation of all the railroads now worked by private companies whose contracts terminate on the 15th of June, 1905. Never till this moment has any friend or foe been able to get a clue to Signor Giolitti's ideas on this burning question, discussed during an entire session in 1876, when the Liberals came to power, and the State won the day; and debated with yet greater heat in 1884, when Depretis, in opposition to the entire Liberal party and many ultra-Conservatives, carried his "private-operation policy," and secured the passage of the "fatal conventions" which led to the worst railway system existing—to the oppression of the railway servants, to their overwork and diminished wages, consequently to constantly increasing disorders and strikes, to the threatened and almost effected general strike of 1901. State-operated railways, say the advocates of this system, will avoid the consequences of the excessive greed of private shareholders, and permit the Government to organize and discipline the railway servants, redress their grievances, and at the same time enact such laws as shall make strikes in their ranks illegal, as in the postal and telegraphic services—

this with the universal approbation of the country, whereas at present all severe regulations introduced are dissented from, owing to their apparent favoritism of the interests of one class of the "haves," the shareholders of the railway companies.

The "private-service" champions, on the other hand, fear that State operation will endanger the finances, which are now only just convalescent, subject to relapse at any moment. They say at least the companies risk their own private capital, and all the losses incurred by disasters, disorders, monetary crises, fall on them; they act as a buffer, a defence, to the credit of the State. They point to the vehement and successful opposition of Minister Rouvier, in such a rich and financially solid country as France, to State operation of several large railways, as an example worthy of imitation, and wish that the Government had remained neutral until the whole subject had been fairly thrashed out on the floor of both Chambers. That it is a capital card on which to appeal to the country is certain, as, while experts ponder and weigh the pros and cons, the know-nothing laity desire and applaud State rule, as abolishing the detested "conventions" and not less hated shareholders. Sonnino, whose technical value and financial capacity are admitted on all hands since his restoration of public credit at its last gasp in 1893, and who has always inclined to State operation, refuses the challenge thrown by the ministerial *Tri-buna* to give his opinion on this part of the programme, observing, in his admirably edited and widely circulated *Giornale d'Italia*, that for four years he has awaited the discussion of the question; asks in what the operation is to consist, and what are the financial and technical lines on which this improvised determination rests, and reserves his verdict until the debate in the Chambers shall have taken place.

Next follow, in the Government programme, promises and pledges of social, educational, and industrial reforms, reform of the incidence of taxation, of labor contracts, etc.; but as these promises are accompanied by the frank and most absolute affirmation that the army and navy budget cannot be reduced by a farthing. Didymus asks, "Where are the funds to come from?" The conversion of the 5 per cents is as yet a desideratum, nor do prolonged wars and rumors of war facilitate its advent. True, consols are above par, and Italian paper is on a par with gold; but the southern provinces are in an awful plight, the poor Pugliesi exasperated, since fate adds insult to injury precisely in this year when, as they lose their best market, the vintage is so abundant that they have not sufficient casks or receptacles to receive the must. Their pitiful condition necessitates assistance.

The electoral agitation is already great, but the confusion of parties and fractions of parties is Babylonian. The "Popular Party Union" is avowedly dissolved, the elements resolved into their integral parts; and that this would be the case was evident from the second day of the general strike in Milan, and especially after the extreme Left, at the intimation of the "popular dictatorship," held a meeting to propose the resolutions for the plenary meeting to be held in Rome on the 21st of September. It became evident at once not

only that the three parties could never again agree to agree, but that the split between the evolutionary and revolutionary Socialists was on the verge of a rupture. Very insolent were the articles of Ferri in the *Avanti*, albeit not as coarse or violent as those of Labriola, Mocchi, and other of the strike organizers in the *Avanti-guardia*. Claudio Treves, in the *Tempo*, the daily organ of the evolutionists in Milan, gave a Roland for an Oliver, but it was the first number of Turati's *Critica Sociale* that came out after the strikes which gave the death-blow to the already dying alliance. The result on the elections is evident. Whereas ever since their origin as a party they have fought out their battles in private and presented a united front at the civic and political elections, now in each college the revolutionists present their candidate, and likewise the evolutionists. Both fractions, too, have broken up the alliance with Republicans and Radicals, though the former, in their desire to "overthrow existing institutions," incline to the revolutionary Socialists, and with them approved the prolonged strike at Milan and the five days' suspension of every newspaper in the city, including their own. The Radicals, who joined the popular side in order to prevent coercion, "the gag," and military government, have retaken their old position of "his Majesty's Opposition." Comparing the number of the political with that of the civic voters, it results that, despite the veto, clericals vote generally and freely, and this year it is an open secret that, though the Pope will maintain the *non expedit*, he does not object to and instead favors Catholics going to the urn in support of the candidates who adhere to the Church and to religious education in the schools, and are opposed to divorce. In Milan the Catholic League is openly allied with the ultra-Conservatives, who there more than elsewhere are organized and active, and assuredly not ministerialists. The same is true of Venetia, though there parties are less rigorously organized and less vigorous in action.

When we come to what is called the ministerial party, we are at a loss to define it. True it is that Giolitti had an enormous majority when Parliament rose in June, but it was entirely heterogeneous. Ultra and moderate Conservatives, portions of the Centres—some in order to avoid a general election, others out of deference to Luzzatti, others because the extreme Left had begun to oppose him—voted in his favor, but will all these remain faithful to him in case he returns to power? He has summoned the prefects one by one to Rome, and they have received their instructions as to the candidates they are to befriend, those they are to oppose; but the general public seem to be in a refractory mood, and it is not at all certain that the electors as a whole will follow the ministerial guidance. All that is clear, therefore, is that, besides such of his late adherents as may remain faithful to him, Giolitti will have the Radicals in block openly on his side, and, measure for measure, the evolutionary Socialists, some of the moderate Conservatives, while the waverers (and they are numerous) will wait to see how the wind blows. On the other hand, he will find the ultra-Conservatives and revolutionary Socialists in fierce and compact opposition. But it is too soon to form the

faintest conception of how the elections will go.

J. W. M.

#### THE LABOR WAR IN AUSTRALIA.

SYDNEY, October 10, 1904.

In less than a decade a complete change has taken place on the face of Australian politics. Mr. Godkin's essay on the Australian democracy is barely seven years old, and it is wonderfully true to the spirit as well as to the facts of Australian public life, but it is already out of date. A new factor has come into unexpected prominence, or rather a somewhat old factor has assumed new proportions and altered all the conditions. In New South Wales the Labor party is ten or twelve years old, and for the greater part of that time it has held the balance of power. For five years it kept a free-trade Ministry in office, and extracted from it a system of taxation conceived to be in the interests of the workingmen. Unable to wring from it other measures it had still more at heart, it turned out the Ministry and placed and kept the protectionists in office for another five years' term. The growth of the Labor party in the other States has been slower, but more striking. In Queensland, eleven years ago, it consisted of a single member; at the general elections held the other day it swelled to thirty-four members in a House of seventy-two. Hardly five years old in West Australia, it has there just defeated the Ministry and taken its place on the Government benches. In South Australia the Ministry and the Opposition have coalesced to keep the Labor party out of office, which they do by just one vote; and in the Commonwealth a hybrid Ministry of free traders and protectionists is maintaining a precarious existence with the same object. In sorely tried Victoria (a standing example of the ruin a protectionist policy may work) a heroic effort of the saner portion of the population was needed to defeat the Labor party and fling out the Ministry it supported. A similar victory has just been won in New South Wales. Over the whole of Australia it is felt that all other political struggles are being reduced to a single conflict—that between labor and the rest of the community. It is everywhere perceived, and two premiers have said, that, alike in the States and the Commonwealth, there is room for only two parties—the Labor party and whatever other party stands for industrial freedom.

Five possible situations may result: (1.) The Labor party may be undifferentiated, as (till the other day) in New Zealand, where a Ministry formed in the ordinary course and without a Labor mandate has been converted by the strong wills of two or three individuals into a Labor Ministry. (2.) The Labor party may support the Ministry, but remain independent of it and out of office, as lately in the Commonwealth and in New South Wales. (3.) It may fuse itself with the Ministry, as now in Queensland, control its policy, and accept office. (4.) It may independently assume office, as now in West Australia and lately in the Commonwealth. (5.) Defeated, it becomes the Parliamentary Opposition, as now in the Commonwealth and in New South Wales, and its leader is officially recognized by the speaker as the titular leader of the Opposition. These are notable advances to have been made in a few years.

The fable of the old Roman senator is threatening to prove a literal fact. If Australia is not exactly being governed by its belly (the unskilled laborers), it is being largely governed by its hands and feet (the skilled artisans). What are their claims and what their qualifications for the task they have deliberately assumed?

First, it is contended that the political Labor party is not coextensive with the laboring class. It certainly is not. Of the 423,000 hand-workers in New South Wales only 60,000 are brigaded into unions. Nor do unionist artisans always vote at the crack of the Labor whip. At the recent general elections in New South Wales, thousands of laboring men and women voted against the labor candidates. Almost a year ago the electors of the same State were called on to vote in connection with one of those referendums by which a colonial ministry escapes from its difficulties. The question was, Should the first chamber be reduced in numbers, and, if so, in what proportion? Though a reduction was imperative in the interests of economy (for the more legislators there are, the more public works are constructed), the Labor party strenuously opposed any reduction, and it succeeded in fixing a limit below which no reduction could be voted for. None the less, reduction was carried by an immense majority, and it was manifest from the numbers polling that a large proportion of the laboring class must have voted against the wishes of the labor leaders.

It is, moreover, estimated that the laboring class does not produce more than a quarter of the wealth annually produced in Australia. Of this quarter it may perhaps be said that two-thirds is, in a manner, the production of the captains of industry—the capitalists who personally direct industrial production. Employers continually complain that the men are not worth the wages the unions compel them to pay. They are lazy, handless, and without resource, sometimes dishonest, and often wholly incompetent. Without incessant supervision and a constant infusion of energy on the part of the employers, their labor would be futile.

Lastly, the Labor party owes its ideals, not to itself, but to thinkers and publicists. Edward Bellamy, Laurence Gronlund, and Henry George purveyed the Socialist policy which New Zealand and the Australian States are carrying out. It was initiated in New Zealand by a commercial traveller, who afterwards became a newspaper proprietor. It was continued by the ex-engine-driver who succeeded him in the premiership. An old Highland shepherd devised a scheme of land purchases and land tenures that embodied the nationalization of the land. But by far the most important of the socialistic measures—industrial arbitration—was shaped and carried into law in New Zealand by the son of a newspaper proprietor who was a bit of an Oxonian, and it was developed and expanded in New South Wales by a cultured Oxonian who is one of the few instructed men in Australian public life.

As in all else, the colonies here repeat the history of older countries. Grant Allen remarked that the Radical leaders have usually been men of family and education. So have the Socialist leaders. Lassalle arrogantly claimed that he was "equipped with all the culture of his century" (what did



he know of science?), and Louis Blanc might have made a similar boast. In North Lanarkshire, the other day, the Labor candidate was a well-known publicist who collects old editions of Lucretius and first editions of Fichte. And it is noticeable that as soon as the Australian labor leaders acquire the necessary leisure, they set themselves to remove their deficiencies, read incessantly, and steadily improve as public speakers. Renan, indeed, believed that the interests of culture were safer in the hands of Caliban than in those of Prospero or his degenerate successors, and it can be affirmed as a fact that Government officers in the colonies are both more liberally and more courteously used by uneducated legislators and ministers than by those with a tincture of cultivation. A professor in the University of Melbourne is leaving his position because he cannot get his pay from a retrenching middle-class Government, while a member of the late Labor Ministry in the Commonwealth has just founded a scholarship for poetry in the same university.

The policy of the Labor party throughout Australia is undisguised. It may be summed up in the motto of the Queensland Labor party: "Socialism in our time." The phrase was born of antagonism to the policy of the Fabian Socialists. That highly cultivated body entered on its propaganda with the belief that an organized system of State Socialism could be brought into existence in a few years. A brief contact with the realities of English politics soon punctured the illusion. A longer and closer contact with the realities of Australian politics has rather strengthened the belief in the minds of Australian labor leaders, and with some reason. The very large extent to which the Australasian colonies are socialistic is well known, but two or three recent developments may be mentioned. The Government of New Zealand has just opened a coal mine, the immediate effect of which is stated to have been that one-third of the miners in two adjacent coalfields have been thrown out of employment. The same progressive Government has added a fire-insurance department to its life-insurance department; it had twice or thrice vainly attempted to make fire insurance in the Government department universal and compulsory. And the same Government now owns hotels in tourist districts, and "personally conducts" all railway refreshment rooms. There was thus already a broad basis on which to rear a system of State Socialism. To it the Labor party in Australia proposes to add all natural monopolies. Both in the Commonwealth and in New South Wales it has tried to make the iron manufacture an exclusive privilege of the State. It also claims for the State the monopoly of the tobacco manufacture. The programme of the Labor party in New Zealand, founded only within the last few weeks, is more thoroughgoing. It demands the nationalization of all mineral wealth, and the establishment of woollen and flour mills, clothing and boot factories. Such proposals seem formidable, or would be if there were the least danger of their being carried into effect. But no subversive changes like those which scare the middle classes in the revolutionary Socialism of France or Germany, need be looked for in Australia. The labor leaders in all the

States are cool-headed men, who will not be betrayed into any extravagance. Some of them are Irish, but the Celtic fervor has either burnt down in them or is sternly repressed. The Labor leader in the Commonwealth, while admitting that Socialism is the foundation of the Labor platform, intimated that those who expected extreme measures from him would be disappointed, and during his brief term of office he certainly gave no indication of favoring an advanced policy. The Labor Ministry in West Australia is already disappointing its followers by its unexpected moderation.

The stability of the semi-socialist system built up by successive colonial governments depends mainly on two factors—foreign loans and high protective duties. The State purchases of private lands are being effected by means of loans raised in England. The substitution of the State for commercial companies as the holders of land mortgages (and in all the colonies land is mortgaged to the hilt) has been made practicable by the same means. The execution of public works, which are extensive in proportion to the socialistic trend of the Ministry of the day, rests on the same basis. Let the British bondholder grow alarmed at the monstrous indebtedness these colonies are piling up, and the colonial socialistic activity on these lines necessarily comes to an end. This is exactly what is happening. The motherland obstinately refuses to continue lending to her prodigal sons at the antipodes except on usurious terms. The consequences are already visible. In most of the Australian States public works are almost at a standstill, and the repurchase of lands is being very slowly made. In the more prosperous colonies the boom that has been maintained for many years by the copious and continuous influx of foreign gold, shows signs of breaking. Should it break, the mass of colonial Socialism will tumble down like a child's house of cards, which in reality the whole thing is. Among other features of the structure, the extravagant old-age pension system—which New Zealand has just discovered, as Victoria two years ago discovered, and as New South Wales will yet discover, to be a sink of corruption—will prove to be an intolerable burden. State industrial arbitration stands or falls with protective duties.

J. C.

## Correspondence.

### CASTE AND CONSCIENCE AT THE SOUTH.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The columns of your paper have furnished with painful frequency accounts of harsh treatment of the negro by Southern whites, and of the friction between the races. I take the liberty of calling your attention to the enclosed clippings from the *Charleston News and Courier* of October 21, and the editorial comments thereon of that day and of the 26th inst., which give another side of the question, and furnish an instance of the respect and high regard in which a negro was held by his white neighbors, on account both of his character and of his personal influence, exerted to bring about and maintain kindly relations between the races. I hope you will reprint the en-

closed clippings for the benefit of your readers.

I do not desire to present an argument on this matter, but allow me briefly to say, in passing, that such instances of pronounced cordiality are not common, that they are less frequent now than ever before, that race feeling is more accentuated now than ever before. President Roosevelt, by the course he has pursued in reference to the negro, has thwarted the efforts of those who wished to cultivate and establish between the races relations of justice and kindness, and also to bring about among the whites the recognition of their responsibility, as the superior race, for the education and improvement of the negro. President Roosevelt, by his disregard of the judgment and wishes of those who were in position to understand conditions in the South, and his abandonment of his position while on the Civil Service Commission, that merit should be the test of qualification for office, has made it well-nigh impossible to labor for the improvement of the negro as a citizen, and more difficult for him to secure that fairness of treatment which is desirable both for his own sake and also as a habit of mind and of conduct for the whites.

The solution of the negro question is one that requires patience and wisdom. It cannot be forced by the people of the North—first, because the whites of the South will not submit to dictation on matters affecting them and their rights; and, secondly, because the North does not understand the question, nor do they appreciate what this question means to the whites of the South. The very civilization of the South is involved, and the sooner it is recognized by the North that education and moral character shall rule—which means that the Anglo-Saxon shall rule and predominate in moral, political, and educational government, and will never permit social equality with the negro in any manner—the sooner will the negro receive justice in treatment, and the constantly increasing liberality and generosity in acquiring educational advantages which will elevate his character and make him a better and more useful citizen. If, however, the North follows the lead of Mr. Roosevelt and persists in its determination to give the negro position which in a way places him above the superior race and engenders and intensifies the natural prejudice between the races, the longer will be the delay in securing for the negro those opportunities for improvement and elevation which can only come by slow development and by a gradual evolution.

Very truly, RICHARD I. MANNING.

SUMTER, S. C., October 24, 1904.

[Our space does not permit us to reprint the extracts sent us by our correspondent. On October 20, the Circuit Court at Lancaster, S. C., "adjourned out of respect to the memory of Bishop Leom C. Clinton, whose burial takes place here to-morrow." Bishop Clinton was a colored man, born a slave, and, as our correspondent informs us, was "a consistent Republican," though why he had any business to be Republican or Democrat in a disfranchising community passes our understanding. The Court's adjournment we must regard

as "in a manner" an act of social equality; as it could have done no more for a white man; but we have before had occasion to remark that, for social purposes, the only good negro, in the eyes of the vast majority of Southern white people, is a dead negro. To him they are ready to pay tribute for his private virtues and civic usefulness. All the "education and moral character" he might have amassed could, while he was alive, have no recognized share in "ruling" and "predominating" the community. It could not entitle him to the meanest public office, to send his children to a mixed school, or to ride with other decently dressed and behaved persons in a mixed car—a paradox which our Southern brethren might escape if they could comprehend Beaumarchais's apophthegm, "L'amitié [social equality] s'accorde, l'estime s'exige"—that is, you are under compulsion to esteem a fellow-being according to his worth, but neither this nor rendering him exact and equal justice compels you to take him into your set.

Another clipping reports the condemnation of lynching in Judge R. C. Watts's address to the grand jury of Lancaster County. It is one of many signs that the awakening Southern conscience is to make itself felt first effectively through the judiciary. We welcome them all, and notice such as we can.—ED. NATION.]

#### THE FUNCTION OF POETRY.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Reading to-day the letter in this week's *Nation* from Mr. James E. French makes me wish to say two things:

First, that I read, with what I do not exaggerate in calling perfect delight, Professor Goldwin Smith's article in the October *American Historical Review*, from which Mr. French quotes one passage for animadversion. There is, *me judice*, no other living man who could have given us an article on its theme equalling it either in its luminous condensation, the soundness of its many judgments, or especially in the perfection of its English. It reminds one of that wonderful masterpiece by the same hand, "The United Kingdom."

Second, it occurs to me that Mr. French's criticism would have been better placed if he had first inquired or told us what Professor Smith meant by his phrase, "pleasure of that sort which it is supposed to be the special function of poetry to give." There are varieties of pleasure given by poetry. How is it that this critic determined that Professor Smith did not have in mind the precise pleasure which his critic evidently regards as the chief function of poetry to give? For my part, I do not suppose, as does Mr. French, that Professor Smith would "dismiss" Lowell's Ode "as a highly figurative work of imagination," which gave him no pleasure. On the contrary, I have no doubt that he would agree heartily with what Lowell writes in Mr. French's quotation. Does Mr. French really think Professor Smith admires the poet described by Lowell in

the last four lines quoted by him? Mr. French's phrase—pleasure-purveyor—is to no purpose. It defines nothing. Are not all real poets pleasure-purveyors, Milton and Dante even?

While we are without knowledge of the meaning, except its obvious and natural one, of the particular phrase of Professor Smith's now criticised, I should like to add my small voice in support of his apparent estimate of Browning's poetry. Nothing can be better, as it seems to me, than his farther characterization of Browning, thus: "He is a philosopher in verse with Browning societies to interpret his philosophy"; only, I must add, no interpreter has yet seemed to make philosophy or sense out of much that he has written.

D. H. CHAMBERLAIN.

UNIVERSITY STATION, CHARLOTTESVILLE, VA.,  
November 4, 1904.

#### UNSCRUPULOUS BOOK AGENTS.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I am informed that certain persons have called on my friends and members of various societies to which I have the honor of belonging, and, under the pretence of being my secretary, have solicited subscriptions to books with the editing of which I have been legitimately associated. I have authorized no one—man, woman, or child—to use my name for any such purpose.

In order to gain entrance to houses otherwise inaccessible, unscrupulous book agents have actually sent up my name, audaciously impersonating myself until "the lady of the house" appeared and discovered the trick. In one case that came to my ears the clever, shrewd salesman actually persuaded the wealthy friend on whom he thus forced himself under false pretences to subscribe for one of his books!

The matter has its amusing side, but is nevertheless extremely annoying; for a person is thus put in a false position. A plain statement of these facts seems to be my only defence. NATHAN HASKELL DOLE.

GLEN ROAD, JAMAICA PLAIN, BOSTON,  
November 3, 1904.

#### EMERSON AND CHRISTIAN SCIENCE.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In the book reviews of your issue of October 27 I find the following statement: "Neither the Emersonians nor the Eddyites will be pleased with Mr. More's finding Emerson responsible for Christian Science and similar vagaries, but it is certain that the Eddyites have often found the Emerson scripture to their purpose."

This needs a little clearing up lest it might give your readers a wrong impression of the attitude of Christian Scientists. They, like most other religionists and philosophers, have a very high regard for the noble works and sayings of Emerson; and while it may be true that Emerson has contributed toward the general progress leading up to the discovery of Christian Science, yet there is nothing in common between his premises and those of Mrs. Eddy.

I am sure you will pardon me for entering a kindly protest against the use of the word "Eddyites." Christian Science is not an ism of Mrs. Eddy's. All Christian Scientists have demonstrated the truth of their faith sufficiently to make it their very

own; therefore, the use of that term as a definition is entirely incorrect, and it could have no other use than the epithetical, and I am sure that the good editor of the *Nation* would not be found guilty of calling names.

Yours sincerely, ALFRED FARLOW.

BOSTON, November 3, 1904.

#### A CORRECTION CORRECTED.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Your reviewer of Mr. Conway's 'Autobiography' makes a note of Mr. Conway's story about the first remarks of certain leading Unitarians on entering another world, and says it was not a student who invented the remarks, but Theodore Parker. It was not Theodore Parker, it was Dr. Frederic Henry Hedge. So he told me at my own table when I attributed them to another person. My wife confirms my recollection. At the same time he told me that his daughter had invented one for him. He had complained a good deal about the fire in the parlor grate, which had a way of going out. "I know," said his daughter, "what you will say when you arrive in the next world. It will be, 'I'm glad to be somewhere at last where the fire *doesn't go out*.'" One of the best of the remarks omitted from Mr. Conway's enumeration was that attributed to Dr. Hedge's father-in-law, Dr. Pierce of Brookline, who was very proud of his walking: "Just seventy-five (?) minutes from earth! Walked all the way!" JOHN W. CHADWICK.

BROOKLYN, November 3, 1904.

#### Notes.

Dr. Benjamin Rand, author of the 'Life, Letters, and Philosophical Regimen of the Third Earl of Shaftesbury,' will shortly have ready for academic and public use a very comprehensive 'Bibliography of Philosophy.' It will embrace bibliographies of the History of Philosophy, Systematic Philosophy, Logic, Aesthetics, Philosophy of Religion, Ethics, and Psychology. The "History of Philosophy" contains the roll of great names from Thales to Spencer, their works, and the works upon them. The other bibliographies include the general and various special topics comprised in their respective subjects. The work has now been in the Oxford University Press for more than three years, and will appear as the third volume of the 'Dictionary of Philosophy and Psychology,' edited by Prof. J. M. Baldwin and other scholars, and also in separate form. We may add that Dr. Rand has sounded several of the larger libraries and universities regarding a pet project of his in a privately printed leaflet entitled 'A Philosophical Library for the American Continent.'

Houghton, Mifflin & Co. will publish immediately 'The Russo-Japanese Conflict: Its Causes and Issues,' by K. Asakawa, Ph.D., a graduate of Dartmouth College, and now a member of its faculty.

'Mrs. Maybrick's Own Story; Her Fifteen Years of English Prison Life,' will be issued in December by Funk & Wagnalls Co. The book has been written wholly by Mrs. Maybrick, except the legal digest and other matter in the appendix.

Little, Brown & Co., Boston, have nearly



ready 'The Younger American Poets,' by Miss Jessie B. Rittenhouse.

Noticeable already are the outpouring series of small volumes, some Lilliputian like the new Vest-Pocket issue of Messrs. Putnam, which measures  $4\frac{1}{2} \times 1\frac{3}{4}$  inches, and gives us, printed lengthwise, Fitzgerald's Omar, and bits from Burns, Goldsmith, Browning, Tennyson, etc. Those to whom the size recommends itself will want the catalogue. Not very much thicker, but broader, for the side pocket, are the familiar "Ariel Booklets" of the same firm, now growing into a century of volumes with Miss Edgeworth's 'Castle Rackrent,' Fouqué's 'Undine,' Swift's 'Voyage to Lilliput,' King James's 'Counterblaste,' etc., each in this case a complete whole. The author's portrait is a feature of these reprints. Still larger, yet rightly described as "Handy Volume Classics," are those published by T. Y. Crowell & Co., sometimes mere copies, as in the case of Gowan's whimsical 'The Hundred Best Poems,' sometimes with a little apparatus, as where Prof. Brander Matthews contributes introductions to Sheridan's Comedies and to Robert Bell's 'Songs from the Dramatists,' with some addenda, and Mr. Mabie introduces Addison's Essays, Mr. Charles Welsh, Chesterfield's Letters, etc.

We noticed at some length last January the elegant limited edition of Bunyan's 'Pilgrim Progress,' with twenty-five illustrations by Cruikshank, mostly engraved for the first time from his drawings. The same text and cuts have now been popularized in a plain form by the Oxford University Press (H. Frowde), and so far as the text is concerned, this is a boon. The rather mediocre designs have suffered somewhat in the less costly printing. Since our former notice we have seen a copy of the rare print (never published) of Christian in the Valley of the Shadow of Death. It is much finer as well as larger than its replica here, one of the two or three fairly ambitious designs in the series.

The Rev. H. C. Beeching's careful transcript of Milton's Poetical Works from the earliest printed copies of the several poems is another Oxford reissue of moderate cost and substantial excellence.

Kingsley's 'The Heroes' reappears in a somewhat elegant form with six color-plates and seventy half-tone illustrations by T. H. Robinson (London: Nisbet; New York: Dutton). We like Mr. Robinson best in some of his chapter vignettes. His idealism is rather naïve and his figure drawing amateurish. His Theseus is anything but heroic, and the consistent half-nude representation of him, while all nymphs are full-clad, leads to strange situations, as in the scene with Medea at p. 270, in color, "printed in Bavaria."

Elliot Stock, London, sends us the eighteenth issue of his 'Book-Prices Current,' still under the careful direction of Mr. J. H. Slater. It records the prices of books sold at auction in London from October, 1903, to July, 1904, to the number of 6,276 items, with the usual index. Exceptional fullness has been given to the titles of a notable batch of economic works such as seldom come under the hammer *en bloc*, and there is a full account of the original MS. of Book I. of 'Paradise Lost,' probably the printer's copy, which was withdrawn from the sale when the bidding fell short of

£5,000, and was afterwards disposed of privately to Mr. Pierpont Morgan. The highest prices here recorded were for manuscripts: one, a Latin-Flemish, "with English influence," curiously illuminated, fetched £2,500, or one-sixth of the total net product of the Sneyd collection, "though it could easily be placed on the palm of the hand." The season proved depressing for books of ordinary character. The fresh seven-volume limited edition of Fitzgerald's Writings and Letters was thrown back at £2 to £3, in each of several instances. Dickens, Thackeray and Tennyson were in but moderate request. The Walter Pater cult made a modest beginning. A unique copy of 1545, not heretofore known, of Erasmus's Precepts of Cato in English, brought £40. A copy of Vellutello's Petrarch (Venice, Giolito, 1548) went for £1 15s. on December 11, 1903, while one of 1547 brought on July 28, 1904, £12. What is odd is, that the annotation for each is the same, and implies the possibility of a turnover for one and the same work between the sales mentioned—if the printer's date has been erroneously changed. This appears probable from the fact that Giolito published two editions of this commentary in 1547; we can discover no record of another in 1548.

The First Book of Bacon's 'Advancement of Learning' (Ginn & Co.) has received from Prof. Albert S. Cook the scrupulous treatment which this editor commonly bestows on English classics. An intelligent reader may indeed complain that the text is over-annotated, although he may share Professor Cook's none too high estimate of "the average student" when it comes to interpreting even a piece of "compelling and artistic prose." The editor's deliberate valuation of Bacon's style is interesting in comparison with Sainte-Beuve's criticism ("un heureux, abondant et un peu confus écrivain") in 'Portraits Littéraires,' II. 453; his involved, though brief, comment on Bacon's character should be confronted with Kuno Fischer's more convincing solution of the same enigma. An excerpt from Fischer might well have been included among the introductory "Opinions concerning Bacon." However, the amount of help for the student whom the editor "had in mind" is little short of astonishing; one wonders whether such student will be more free to shift for himself in the Second Book, when it appears. Every one interested in philosophy should welcome the entry of competent English scholarship in a field that professors of English are prone to neglect.

In the year 1566, one William Adlington produced a version of the Golden Ass of Apuleius, dating his preface 'From Unversitie Colledge, Oxforde.' Nothing further is known of him, not even that he proceeded to a degree; but his book, for its vigorous Elizabethan English, has long been to the elect "a right pleasant pastime and delectable matter," as he would himself have said. Between 1566 and 1639 it went through six editions, was repeated from the last in the series called the Tudor Translations, and now appears, printed from the first edition, in the noble garb of the Chiswick Press of London (New York: Privately printed for the Scott-Thaw Co.). In this form it is a tall folio, the paper and type alike beautiful, but with a somewhat Brummagem frontispiece. Only two hundred copies are reserved for these United States;

whether there be more than two hundred citizens to whom a *custos morum* could conscientiously recommend a perusal, is a question on which he might consult with himself as long as did the translator before he ventured to dedicate his work to the Earl of Sussex. For, truly, the "jesting and sportfull manner of the booke" (to preserve his polite euphemisms) makes it "unfitted to be offered to any man of gravitie and wisdom." And yet he concluded that the effect thereof might tend "to a good and vertuous morall"—in the which pious hope we have given it mention here.

Quite an epidemic of philosophic autobiographies has marked the present year, and it might have been expected that the story of the Aberdonian weaver who rose to be professor of logic and finally Lord Rector in the university of his native city, would not have been the least notable of the series. We have found, however, Alexander Bain's 'Autobiography' (Longmans, Green & Co.) somewhat disappointing, and in no wise comparable in point of interest with Herbert Spencer's. One cannot, indeed, withhold a certain measure of admiration from the strenuous work and iron determination to which Bain owed his success, but beyond this there is little of interest or instruction to be gathered from his narrative. The general reader will hardly be conciliated by the jejune style in which long series of dry details are frigidly set forth, and will scarcely accept the author's contention that the historic value of his copious reminiscences of the minutiae of teaching and administration in a small Scotch university sixty or seventy years ago deserved such conscientious chronicling. The technical philosopher will not greatly value the bare, precise notes on the composition of Bain's works. And even the psychologist will only record without gratitude the stern self-restraint which has suppressed nearly all items of human and personal interest, and will long for a little more *abandon* and self-revelation carried nearer to the verge of indiscretion. Bain's attitude towards himself is doubtless highly dignified, but what, after all, is the value of autobiography if it hardly differs in tone and content from an official biography? The latter would at least have thrown more light on the many public-spirited things Bain did, and better have reminded philosophers of the debt they owe to one who was the founder, and for many years the sole financial supporter, of *Mind*.

'Presidential Problems,' by Grover Cleveland (The Century Company), is a reprint of two addresses and two magazine articles, thoroughly revised by the author. They may be regarded as mainly a justification of his administration, and as such possess a permanent historical interest apart from the fact that they involve questions of lasting moment, likely to recur in some new form at any time. There is the "Independence of the Executive," the "Relation of the Federal Administration to Labor Disorders" (the Chicago strike of 1894), the "Bond Issues," and the "Venezuela Boundary Controversy"—none of them matters now directly before the public, but all topics presenting legal or constitutional questions of the first importance. They have been so repeatedly canvassed in these columns and the press generally that it is not possible to expect the reprint to arouse much controversy. As a literary per-

formance, they are open to the charge, at times, of ponderosity. "Le style, c'est l'homme," and Mr. Cleveland's style is not light, and is apt to be labored. But this was always so; the value of what he said and did lay in matter, not manner. We are sorry to see that he still thinks so meanly of those who criticised his "vigorous assertion of the Monroe Doctrine," as to be willing to assert that those who most emphatically reprehended it were "the timid ones who feared personal financial loss," or else speculators and those engaged in "living by their wits." This hallucination is what might be called one of the "idols" of the Stump, and raises a smile when it is brought forward in the forum of history.

Just in time for those who wish to prepare themselves for the performance of "Parsifal" in English now beginning at the New York Theatre, the Oliver Ditson Company has issued a 'Guide to Parsifal,' by Richard Aldrich, the judicious and reliable musical critic of the New York Times. He does not claim any special originality for his little book—indeed, it would be difficult to say anything new about that much-discussed music drama; but his seventy-page monograph may be found useful by those who have not time enough to peruse Kufnerath's exhaustive work on the same subject. After giving some introductory information regarding Wagner's development and his style, Mr. Aldrich discusses the origins of "Parsifal," and then relates the strange story and analyzes the music, with its leading motives. There are also eight full-page illustrations of scenes in the drama. As regards the musical status of Wagner's last work, Mr. Aldrich says: "In thematic invention the 'Ring' dramas and 'Die Meistersinger' may surpass it; in spontaneity it stands below 'Tristan'; but the poetical beauty and subtlety of the 'Parsifal' music, the expressive power with which it interprets all the characters, emotions, sufferings, aspirations, that are embodied in the drama, are surpassed in none other of Wagner's works. In none of them is the key to the understanding of all to be sought so continually in the music." The leading motives are given in musical type, and a list of works treating of "Parsifal" is appended.

Among several additions to the bibliographies put forth continuously by the Library of Congress we may single out Mr. Lee Phillips's Check-List of Large-Scale Maps Published by Foreign Governments (Great Britain excepted) and to be found in our national collection.

Students of Spanish history will welcome an enterprise undertaken by D. Eduardo Ibarra y Rodríguez, professor of history in the University of Saragossa, under the title of "Colección de Documentos para el estudio de la historia de Aragón." Of this the first volume has appeared, containing documents illustrating the reign of Ramiro I., from 1034 to 1063 (Saragossa: Cecilio Gasca). There are a hundred and fifty of these, nearly all inedited, throwing much light on the laws and customs of the period, and bearing testimony to the zeal of the editor in gathering them from all sources and accompanying them with elaborate indexes of persons and place-names. Succeeding volumes are promised, containing documents of the eleventh to the fourteenth century, and finally a glossary, which cannot fail

to be of great interest. The language of the documents is a transitional Latin, illustrating one stage in the development of the modern speech; and the contrast between it and the Latin of a letter from St. Odilo of Cluny to Paterno, abbot of S. Juan de la Peña (p. 215), indicates how monastic traditions were striving to retain classical forms while popular speech was developing a virtually new tongue.

The early achievements of the United States navy in geographical research are the subject of an interesting address by Rear-Admiral Chester to the recent Geographic Congress, now published in the *National Geographic Magazine* for October. The explorers were Wilkes, Perry, Kane, and many others of less note, and though the New World was the chief field for exploration, yet one expedition, that of Lieut. Lynch, was sent to the Dead Sea. To Commander Maury, however, as Humboldt has placed on record, "the world is indebted for founding a new department of science, that of the Physical Geography of the Sea." In prosecuting the researches which he began, our naval officers have "sounded minutely nearly 300,000 square miles of water, and made deep-sea soundings over little less than a million square miles." But this has not been simply in the interests of pure science, for "hardly a wire lies on the bed of the Atlantic or of the Pacific Oceans that has not been prearranged" by their surveys. Among the other contents of this number are Commander Peary's presidential address, in which he advocated having "some broad national project of geographical investigation, of general interest and coordinated plan, on a continuing basis," and Dr. A. Penck's report on recent progress in the execution of a map of the world on the uniform scale of sixteen miles to the inch. Among the resolutions adopted by the Congress was one proposing to our Government the preparation of such a map of America, similar to those of Asia, China, and Africa now being constructed by the French, German, and British Governments.

The Inventories of the Manuscript Collections of the Italian libraries have reached a twelfth volume, which is occupied, like several of its predecessors, with the MSS. of the Central National Library in Florence.

A hiatus in H. Stein's Manual of General Bibliography has been supplied by Giustino Colaneri of the Casanatensian Library in Rome, who has compiled a 'Bibliographia Araldica e Genealogica d'Italia' containing upwards of 2,000 entries. The arrangement is alphabetical by authors. Count Ferruccio Pasini-Frassoni prefaces the work with an article on Heraldry in Italy.

A central committee for commemorating the hundredth anniversary of Schiller's death, formed by coöperation of the American Institute of Germanics and the Schwanenverein of Chicago, is arranging an extensive Schiller celebration to be held in Chicago in May, 1905, and has established prizes of \$75 each, open to competition throughout the United States, for two prologues in verse, to be recited during the days of the festival, one in German, the other in English, neither of which shall require more than seven minutes for expressive recitation. All poems offered in competition for either of these prizes must be

in the hands of the corresponding secretary of the committee on the Schiller Commemoration, 617 Foster Street, Evanston, Ill., on or before Wednesday, March 1, 1905. The poems are to be sent under an assumed name and be accompanied by a sealed envelope containing the name and address of the author. The right to publish the accepted prologues must be given to the programme committee for the Schiller Commemoration.

—The letters of Thomas Jefferson to his son-in-law, John W. Eppes, published in the November *Scribner's*, furnish some interesting illustrations of the antagonism between New England and the more Southern States. Mr. Eppes himself was very anxious that his son Francis should be educated wholly within the limits of Virginia, in order to secure "that open, manly character which Virginians possess and in which the most liberal and enlightened of the Eastern people are deplorably deficient." He had never yet known a public man from that section who could march directly to his object; and improper considerations of one kind or another were continually leading them into actions which would tinge the face of a Virginian with shame. Jefferson expressed his entire concurrence with these feelings, and suggested the education of his grandson at Columbia, South Carolina, where Thomas Cooper (an Oxford graduate and a man of great learning and ability) had "more science in his single head than all the colleges of New England, New Jersey, and I may add Virginia, put together." Mr. Jefferson wrote to Dr. Cooper for information, and thereby unearthed a little more of the same spirit. Dr. Maxey, the principal of the Columbia School, was dead, and Dr. Cooper was anxious as to the succession: "If they send for a person from New England, as the fashion is, I shall be strongly inclined to resign. I greatly dislike this combination of character, which promises little better than a mixture of cunning, sciolism, canting and bigotry." In October, 1817, Jefferson writes: "I fear this army and navy fever, and especially the latter, is a disease which must take its course and wear itself out. I doubt the possibility of resisting it." Capt. Mahan draws near the conclusion of his history of the war of 1812, and one naturally finds here and there in his remarks an attitude somewhat different from that of Jefferson as to the navy. If only a powerful navy had been built up in preceding years, England's claim to the right of impressment could have been battered out of existence, and thus safety would have been secured to those seamen who might possibly have been impressed down to the time when peaceful negotiation disposed of the claim forever. It is so much more manly to wash your enemy's claim out of existence in his blood than to let him nurse it unused until it dies a natural death.

—The *Atlantic* has a forcible article on recent attempts to improve the style of the English Bible, from the pen of J. H. Gardiner. Of course Mr. Gardiner offers no objections to such changes as are necessary to correct errors of meaning on the part of King James's translators, or to avoid possible misapprehension growing out of specific alterations in English idiom or in the meaning of English words; but with the craze which has come over a certain class of Bible students to bring the



English of the Bible right down to date, he takes emphatic and well-grounded issue. Arthur Symonds discusses adversely the question whether Sir Walter Scott was a poet. The test of popular impression, which was as favorable to Scott in the rôle of poet as in that of novelist, he accepts in the latter case, but rejects in the former. The poems of Scott and Byron sold as only novels have sold before or since, largely because they were so like novels. The skill in story-telling carried the day with the public, rather regardless of the poetic form than because of it, and the author himself proved that the same class of stories could be better done in prose. But, on the whole, "It is well, perhaps, that there should be a poet for boys, and for those grown-up people who are most like boys; for those, that is, to whom poetry appeals by something in it which is not the poetry." Aside from literary articles the contribution of most importance in this number is Mr. Alleyne Ireland's study of the United States in the Philippines. Mr. Ireland, of course, writes as an Imperialist, out of sympathy with those to whom political independence is anything more than a mere matter of expediency under certain conditions; but for that very reason his searching criticism of our own incompetency in managing the Philippines is the more significant.

—As perpetual motion to the over-imaginative mechanician, so is the problem of the habitation of the planets to the imaginative student of the heavenly bodies. Camille Flammarion threshes over the old straw again in the November *Harper's*. The probability of signals from our near neighbors, the Martians, which has kept some of us up watching of clear nights, is ruled out. They are presumably aëons in advance of us in mental development; and if signaling to us ever occurred to them, it is more likely to have been before we were here to be signalled to—perhaps in the fresh young days of the dinosaurs and Iguanodons. We are brought nearer the surface of our own sphere in a paper by Mr. Howells, "In Folkestone Out of Season," and another by George Hibbard, describing "Winter on the Great Lakes," both thoroughly readable and well illustrated. Prof. John Bassett Moore contributes a paper on "Non-Intervention and the Monroe Doctrine," reaching the conclusion (among others) that the term "Monroe Doctrine" has developed gradually into a convenient title by which to denote merely the principle of the limitation of European power and influence in the Western hemisphere. Students of history will remember that the tree as planted by Monroe had a vigorous branch supposed to shelter the infant republics to the south of us against any harmful development of the power and influence of the United States; but this branch has been deemed, alas! too low for the passage of the tall-masted vessels waiting to get through the inter-oceanic canal.

—"Argumentation and Debate," by Craven Laycock and Robert Leighton Scales (Macmillan), is the title of an original handbook for teachers and students. As the authors say in their preface, it deals with a peculiar art. Argument is usually made one of the divisions of rhetoric; with debate added, we have the presentation of an issue, and must master the art of dealing with it on both

sides. For argumentation and its principles, then, the authors draw on formal logic, rhetoric, and the legal rules governing pleading and proof. The book deals first with the principles applicable alike to spoken and to written discussion; secondly, with those peculiar to oral debate. It is full of excellent illustrations drawn from historical sources, and we have been much struck with the freshness which the authors have succeeded by this means in giving to their discussions of the matters involved. The revival of the study of rhetoric in the English-speaking world is an encouraging sign in modern education, and in one respect rhetoric, as now taught, has certain potential advantages which in the ancient world it did not possess. Science has so rationalized everything that whereas the ancients aimed solely at persuasion, often quite independently of truth, we can deal with rhetoric both as a formal art and as a means to rational conviction. The difference will be noticed at once by any one who takes the trouble to examine such a manual as this in the light of what a critic like Boissier has to say about the classical schools of rhetoric, and their utter indifference to fact. With what we know about true methods of inquiry and what the ancients knew about persuasion, the enthusiast may well hope in time for a glorious future for our authors' "peculiar art."

—B. E. Hammond's 'Outlines of Comparative Politics' (London: Rivingtons) is a contribution to the natural history of government. The author declares in his preface that "until about twenty years ago it was impossible for any one to say with certainty whether knowledge of the laws governing political phenomena could be derived from the evidence of history." This doubt was resolved in his mind by the lectures of Professors Seeley and Henry Sidgwick. The task of the one corresponded with that of Cuvier, of the other with that of Darwin. For the last fifteen years Mr. Hammond has been giving instruction in "the classification of states and their governments," and his present volume is a text-book on this subject, founded on two courses of lectures by Sir John Seeley, published in 1896 under the title of an 'Introduction to Political Science.' It does not deal with the evolution of forms of government. The author's system covers all tribes, states, and governments (and even more than this, for we have two or three pages about such distantly connected matters as mediæval fiefs and Tammany Hall), and is perhaps to be properly described as a rather loose one. To comprehend it thoroughly we need another text-book on evolution. We have a suspicion that, at bottom, it is an eclectic system, which is based partly on the names given in practice to particular units (tribe, city, fief, nation), partly on names given to forms of government (oligarchy, tyranny, democracy), and partly on a theory of development not entirely elucidated. The result is that we do not make out clearly that much is added to our knowledge of the subject. Seeley, as a writer on government, was full of suggestion; but was he a Cuvier in this branch of knowledge? If this hand-book is the answer to the question, it is at any rate an incomplete one.

—Regarded merely as a specimen of the

art of bookmaking, Prof. A. E. Taylor's 'Elements of Metaphysics' (London: Methuen) marks a great advance on his earlier work, 'The Problem of Conduct,' for the interminable discursiveness of which there are now substituted clear argumentation, orderly divisions into chapters and sections, an adequate syllabus of contents, and an index. In style and tone, also, there is a great improvement, and philosophers of all schools may read his present book with pleasure and without offence. As regards doctrine the case is more complicated. In his first book Professor Taylor had shown himself an enthusiastic disciple of Mr. F. H. Bradley, delighting to run amok among the moral ideals of a more bourgeois "idealism," and Bradleyan he is still at core, even though his more dogmatic temper has never risen to that height of satirical skepticism which forms his master's profoundest suggestion and subtlest fascination. But he is also sensitive (perhaps too much so for consistency) to the new movements which are in the air; and so at times he commits himself, more deeply than he usually seems to realize, to the naturalist and the pragmatist forms of empiricism. His use of the latter is indeed somewhat shamefaced and furtive, but it forms the freshest and most valuable part of his book. Not that as yet he ventures to apply the pragmatic method to metaphysics, but he concedes to it the whole field of science. And once a thinker has realized that all the rules of science are ultimately practical (p. 284), he will not long be able to resist the inference that either the same must hold of metaphysics or that the old notion of metaphysics is impossible. It will be interesting, therefore, to watch Professor Taylor's future developments, especially in view of the battle-royal recently initiated by Mr. Bradley's anathematizing of the new "heresies" in the *July Mind*. Regarded lastly as a textbook, Professor Taylor's work, though not devoid of merit, cannot be praised without reservation. An adequate textbook of metaphysics is indeed almost inconceivable, but it would certainly be more critical and judicial and contain a less scrappy and one-sided bibliography than Professor Taylor's. Many of his chapters, however, form lucid paragraphs which should serve as excellent commentaries on that notable but somewhat wantonly difficult work, Mr. Bradley's 'Appearance and Reality.'

#### CORBETT'S ENGLAND IN THE MEDITERRANEAN.

*England in the Mediterranean, 1603-1713.* By Julian S. Corbett. 2 vols. Longmans, Green & Co. 1904.

In this work Mr. Corbett accomplishes two ends. He carries forward the series of volumes on naval history which he began with 'Drake and the Tudor Navy' and continued with 'The Successors of Drake,' while at the same time he drives home lessons of current significance. Not long ago a commander in the British navy observed to us that England could well have afforded to pay Mahan a million sterling for not writing 'The Influence of Sea Power,' so greatly has that book prompted the increase of armaments. Whether Mr. Corbett's belief in the pivotal importance of

the Mediterranean will lead Great Britain to expend more money still on Gibraltar, Malta, and Cyprus, remains to be seen, but there can be no doubt that here the experience of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is made to bear upon modern policies. The theme is a good one in itself without any thought of political applications. In the author's eyes it is made considerably better by the fact that his story of Stuart times is a lamp "that will light up much that is dark in later ages, that will even touch Nelson with a new radiance, and perhaps reveal more clearly why it is that our Mediterranean fleet stands to-day in the eyes of Europe as the symbol and measure of British power."

In point of form, the text recalls the Ford Lectures which Mr. Corbett has recently delivered at Oxford; and lectures delivered at Greenwich have also been made use of. We call attention to the style because it has the force and directness that are the marks of good public speaking. Professor Maitland, in his striking appreciation of Stubbs, alludes to the Bishop's statutory lectures at Oxford as possessing a little of the diffuseness which is inseparable from such oral utterances. Doubtless there is danger on this side, but Mr. Corbett has been successful in avoiding it. Some of his passages (for example, the account of Ward and the Barbary pirates) are more picturesque than the writing of most naval historians, yet his thought is not thin nor his manner prolix. We imagine that many scholars would find it an excellent discipline to cast the fruits of their researches into the form of lectures before giving them to the world in print. At any rate, more books would be read if the giants of learning would condescend to employ a few elementary tricks of the rhetorician.

With regard to the substance of these volumes, one question immediately arises, and it is sure to remain the leading issue in the reader's mind when he has closed the last chapter: Is Mr. Corbett led by the historical fascination of the Mediterranean to accord it more importance than it possesses under modern conditions, or even than it possessed for England during the days of Cromwell, of William III., and of Marlborough? Miss Alice Gardner calls Rome "the centre of the world"; for Mr. Corbett the Mediterranean still retains much of the vital significance which belonged to it in centuries when, to use his own phrase, it was "the heart of the world." One can define his position most exactly by reference to his scale of relative values. These two volumes are designed to carry forward the main thread of English naval development from the point where he dropped it in closing his 'Successors of Drake,' namely, at the end of the Elizabethan period. In the popular mind, British seamanship during the Stuart period is bound up with wars against Holland, and colonial expansion. Mr. Corbett cuts completely adrift from this traditional view, for, though acknowledging the prominence of both these motives, he is unwilling to agree that either should be made the central one. To their exclusion he selects as the dominating force of naval history in the seventeenth century the rise of a policy which contemplated the firm establishment of English power in the Mediterranean.

It is obvious that such a radical change

in perspective involves a large number of readjustments, and no one appreciates the fact more than Mr. Corbett. After exalting England's entry into the Mediterranean above all other lines of naval progress, he continues:

"It is from the standpoint of the struggle with Holland and our colonial expansion that naval historians, and indeed others, have almost universally depicted the time, and it should be no matter of surprise if, viewed from the Mediterranean, it assumes an aspect in some points so startling in its novelty as to arouse a suspicion of mirage. Events which seemed but the most trifling episodes appear as links in a mighty chain, reputations that stood high sink low, and others almost forgotten lift their heads, while judgments that have long passed into commonplace seem on all sides to demand revision."

Considered, then, under its most interesting aspect, this work is less a narrative than an argument. Every one who reads it will either be convinced and put in possession of a new historical faith, or, if unconvinced, must consider that Mr. Corbett has only discovered a paradox when he places the Mediterranean issue in front of Anglo-Dutch rivalry and the part of the British navy in the colonial movement.

At the opening of the seventeenth century, when England first began to look toward the Mediterranean as a field for maritime operations, the galley had already given place to the galleon in the armament of the Atlantic nations. It was indeed this transformation of naval conditions which placed the Mediterranean seaboard at the mercy of any northern invader who, by superior skill, could master the new methods of navigation, and through superior resources could launch a stronger fleet from its own ports. That is to say, the introduction of the galleon destroyed the protection which the Mediterranean races had enjoyed when warships were propelled by rowers and no northern fleet could safely cruise in waters so far removed from home. The brilliant achievements of the Elizabethans had shown that English admirals could carry their flag wherever the wind would fill their sails—a discovery which altered the face of European politics; and in the reign of James I. two of the Mediterranean Powers began to imitate their methods and their organization. When the Barbary corsairs become the pupils of an English adventurer like Ward and a Dutch adventurer like Danzer, when the Duke of Osuna, Admiral of Spain, frankly remodels his fleet on English lines, and when Venice, through her ambassador in London, enlists the services of English ships (1617), revolutionary forces are seen to be affecting the basis of Mediterranean politics. It was soon to be proved that the states of the south were as vulnerable as they had been in the days of Saracen and Norman.

The potential strength of the English navy could not, however, be developed under such rulers as James I. and Charles I. While Mr. Corbett sketches their policy in its bearing on the Mediterranean, he does not discover any sign of genuine national effort until he reaches Cromwell. The new navy of the Commonwealth, built under the influence of the "New Model" army and having colonels for its admirals, gave England for the first time a force at sea which was always in commission. The business instinct of Roundhead leaders could not endure that the nation should be represented

at sea by the disjointed and ill-managed fleet which the Stuarts had found sufficient for their purposes. The three "Generals of the Sea," Col. Edward Popham, Col. Richard Deane, and Col. Robert Blake, brought to their new element the same spirit and the same precision which had carried the cause of the Parliament to triumph by land.

"Thus it was," says Mr. Corbett, "that the definite and final appearance of England as a naval Power in the Mediterranean coincided exactly with the final change in her naval system; and thus too it was that, when the nations of Europe were looking askance, but as yet with no great anxiety, at the new military state, they were suddenly awakened to the disturbing fact that it had a navy no less formidable than the army at which every one was gaping."

The four leaders of English policy who stand out in Mr. Corbett's pages are Cromwell, Charles II., William III., and Marlborough. Of these Cromwell was drawn to the Mediterranean by instinct rather than reason, and Charles II. by a touch of the native, inborn cleverness which in his case was so uniformly associated with moral weakness. Each of the others had a conscious plan for the attainment of Mediterranean ascendancy, and saw how "the British frontier could be carried unassailably up to the borders of the old Mediterranean states, which had been wont to give the law to Europe."

It is Cromwell who forms the best link between the Elizabethans and William of Orange. Without realizing fully that control of the western Mediterranean would be his best asset in European diplomacy, he adopted a new strategy in fighting Spain. Aiming like the Elizabethans at the destruction of Spanish trade with America, he chose the Mediterranean and not the Atlantic as the field of operations. The Elizabethans had done nothing in the Mediterranean; Cromwell saw its importance, but suffered himself to be drawn into anti-papal schemes which prevented him from establishing English supremacy within the Straits. William III. grasped the situation in its entirety, and never suffered himself to be deflected from a line of action in which control of the Inland Sea was a prime factor. Blake's famous cruise of 1654-55, which forms the central episode in Cromwell's Mediterranean policy, receives from Mr. Corbett full and generous recognition; for if he strips away the legends which have gathered about it, he agrees "that the old mythical view is the true one. Those legendary achievements are but the index of the place which the cruise held in men's minds at the time, the echo of its deep moral effect; and they mark for us more clearly than the most exact chronicle the opening of men's eyes to the true meaning of Mediterranean power to England."

Mr. Corbett says that when once we grasp the meaning of Mediterranean policy, many historical judgments will need revision. The most striking illustration of this statement is furnished by the account, as here given, of Charles II.'s attitude toward Tangier. According to general impression, Tangier was a home of pestilence which could not compare with Dunkirk in strategic importance, and was of little or no value to England. Mr. Corbett, on the contrary, brings the history of this fortress into line with England's other attempts to secure a foothold in the Mediterranean,



and lays much stress upon the importance of the experiment. Something, at any rate, can be said in its favor. Whatever political idealism Charles II. possessed—apart from his desire to restore the supremacy of the crown—centred in his ambition to build up for England a Mediterranean power. "I remember," says Bishop Burnet, "when I knew the court first, it [Tangier] was talked of at a mighty rate as the foundation of a new empire; and he would have been a very hardy man that would have ventured to have spoke lightly of it." Mr. Corbett also recalls the fact that of the four royal advisers who favored the Portuguese alliance and the sale of Dunkirk (Clarendon, Southampton, Sandwich, and Monk), two had been moderate Cavaliers and two moderate Roundheads. "The failure of the policy to secure the immediate and wide results that were pardonably expected from it, soon came to obscure its true intention, and, instead of being regarded as a loyal effort to take up the bow of Cromwell, it has survived as the emblem of the Stuart faultiness."

But if Mr. Corbett defends Cromwell from the charge of having left behind him a legacy of hatred and is willing to credit Charles II. with greatness of conception, his chief praise is reserved for William III. and Marlborough. Prior to 1688 the fleets of the two northern sea Powers, England and Holland, had never been brought together for concerted action in southern waters; and even after this date it took five years of fruitless warfare in the Low Countries to show William that his best chance of defeating Louis XIV. was to control the Mediterranean. During the twenty years from 1693 to the Peace of Utrecht, public opinion in England was rapidly being educated to recognize the necessity of keeping a strong fleet within the Straits, and Rooke's capture of Gibraltar may be said to have stereotyped the convictions of the nation. At the time of the Utrecht negotiations, when every effort was being made by the Dutch to get an even share of Gibraltar and Port Mahon, and Harley was sent over to settle the deadlock, he took with him the following instructions: "That no extremity should make her Majesty depart from insisting to have the Asiento for her own subjects and to keep Gibraltar and Port Mahon." This mood in its ultimate form is traceable to William III., and in its immediate form to Marlborough.

No language in Mr. Corbett's vocabulary is too eulogistic to be heaped upon the man who, as part of one plan, conceived the Blenheim campaign and the capture of Toulon. The movements on the Danube succeeded, whereas, through the fault of allies, the expedition against Toulon failed; but, during the war of the Spanish succession, enough experience was gained by British fleets in the Mediterranean to show that the Duke's strategy was perfectly sound. "We shrink," says Mr. Corbett, "from believing that one human mind can have wrought so much. Yet the truth is no less. To the unsurpassed richness of his military renown we must add the greatest achievement that British naval power can show."

Besides the memoranda of William III., the dispatches of Marlborough, and the instructions of Harley, there is documen-

tary evidence which shows that England entered the eighteenth century with fixed designs on the Mediterranean. Among writings of this kind the earliest and most striking is an anonymous tract of 1706, to be found in the second volume of the Harleian Miscellany. It is entitled, 'An Inquiry into the Causes of Our Naval Miscarriages,' and one of the author's chief aims is to show how France can be crippled by the presence of a superior English fleet in the Mediterranean. His principal point, however, is that England should have a permanent station in the Balearic Islands. By holding Port Mahon, he says, "We might have made it a magazine and station for ships to command the Mediterranean, and protect our straits trade, and should thereby have been in a condition by a naval power (without incurring any danger from standing armies) to hold the balance of Europe in our hands, which, as it is our natural province, is England's greatest security and glory." We cite this passage because the writer's view is identical with the thesis of Mr. Corbett's work.

The advantage of developing a single motive is that thereby one gains a power of impact which is not unlikely to sweep all obstacles before it, and imbed a fresh conviction in the receptive mind. The disadvantage is that, by ignoring the existence of other forces and tendencies besides the one described, a false impression is conveyed of what actually occurred. To develop a single idea or line of policy, giving it clear priority over everything else, is to neglect the presence of mutual reaction and create a false impression of simplicity. Mr. Corbett is highly successful in emphasizing the value of his dogma, and for the purpose of the Ford Lectures his style of treatment is open to no exception. But his tendency is to prove too much, and, considered as a book, his plea would have been better had he taken more account of parallel or conflicting movements. This oversight is particularly noticeable in the case of the colonial movement which, radiating from England in the seventeenth century, has done so much to shift the basis of world politics. For Mr. Corbett, "The Midland Sea remains still, perhaps more than ever, the keyboard of Europe," and in his forecast of the future there seems to be little ground for apprehending any serious change of this condition. It is doubtless true that we are too much inclined to regard the Mediterranean, and its concerns as a dead issue, connected with the Roman Empire and the Middle Ages. Mr. Corbett therefore renders a service by insisting on its strategic importance. But whether this most attractive of all seas has the current value which he assigns to it, is a question of political philosophy that each one must settle for himself.

#### RECENT FICTION.

*Traffics and Discoveries.* By Rudyard Kipling. Charles Scribner's Sons.

*The Masquerader.* By Katharine Cecil Thurston. Harper & Bros.

*The Common Lot.* By Robert Herrick. Macmillan.

It has not been difficult to infer from much of Mr. Kipling's recent writing, both in prose and in verse, that things happened

in the course of the South African war which displeased him. His fiery patriotic pride was chilled and his vanity as an author deeply wounded. He had done so well by the British soldier, and the British soldier seized his first great opportunity to make him a shabby return. In that portion of the British Empire where Mr. Kipling's youth was spent, the spectacle of a comparatively small band of Englishmen controlling millions of Asiatics caught his imagination and inspired him with a passionate admiration for the courage and competence and splendid disinterestedness of the men who stood at guard, who in the last resort would be called on to hold India for the Empire. A persistent implication of his Indian tales is that, in a generally imperfect world, the British army made a unit of perfection, badly paid, often badly used by superior powers, but fit for its duty and invincible. Reluctant and even critical readers accepted for the time his enthusiastic view. Then came the South African war. Many millions of British subjects parted with their illusions during its progress, but the better sort bore disappointment decently, mutely. Not so Mr. Kipling. The first blunders excited him. What small amount of discretion and good taste had ever been his forsook him. He never even tried to emulate models of his own creation, men who did not cry out when they were hurt, men who faced life gallantly, not shrieking about split milk or weeping over shattered idols. He deserted the colors and began to throw stones at the standard-bearers in the moment of peril. His next step—a step fatal to his power and continued credit as a story-teller—was to take himself for an inspired censor of his country's army and navy and almost every department of administration, including the personnel, from chiefs to office boys.

The censure that found expression in magazine tales reappears in his latest volume, entitled 'Traffics and Discoveries.' Leaving out of consideration the childish scoffs and jeers at some of the objects of his former respectful devotion, the work is very bad; some of it is fortunately incomprehensible. The opening story, "The Captive," is the only readable contribution, and that is coarse in expression and false in characterization, for no "gun-running Yankee" ever had within himself the standard for the sort of criticism put into the mouth of Mr. Zigler. In several tales where the self-imposed censorship is extended to the navy, Mr. Kipling is literally possessed by a person named Pycroft. Pycroft is a drunken, blasphemous, licentious petty officer, who talks incessantly in an illiterate jargon. He is, from every point of view, an offensive beast, and the seven seas will have gone dry before Mr. Kipling's literary reputation can recover from his apparently delighted wallowing in such society. The gist of several of the tales dominated by Pycroft we have not been able to extract. Perhaps there is none. Perhaps it is all Pycroft for Pycroft's sake, and Mr. Kipling may hold that Pycroft is synonymous with Art, and thus stand ready with an elaborate defence.

Sixty-five pages of the volume are occupied with "The Army of a Dream," an effort in constructive criticism. In the eighteenth century, Henry Fielding, an English novelist, magistrate, and gentleman, wrote "An En-

quity into the Causes of the Late Increase of Robbers, etc." His criticism and suggestions formed a basis for legislation which made the streets of London safe resorts for honest people, and the "Enquiry" has to-day an honorable place in the body of English literature. "The Army of a Dream" is of no use to-day, and will be forgotten to-morrow.

Of the several tales written in moments of detachment from national affairs and the charms of Pyecraft, one is a fable, in which a millwheel, a cat, and a rat exchange reminiscences of the Saxon period, and quote the Doomsday Book. It is an elaborate and strained proclamation of Mr. Kipling's joy in the achievements of applied science. Two of the stories touch profound mysteries and a power that science has not yet been able to use, much less explain. The subject of "Wireless" is suggested by the name. The narrator is waiting in a druggist's shop for the purpose of assisting at some experiments in wireless telegraphy going on in an adjoining room, where an electrician is performing with a long-range installation. The druggist goes out with a young woman named Fanny Brand, leaving the narrator to keep the shop. The druggist is a consumptive who, returning from a walk in the cold rain, has a hemorrhage, then takes a strange drink concocted by the narrator, writes a love letter, and falls asleep. While asleep, he speaks and writes selections from the poetry of Keats, or rather he tries hard and gets so far as a few correct lines from "The Eve of St. Agnes," and presumably a garbled version of two lines in the "Ode to a Nightingale," which for the benefit of possibly bewildered readers it is well to quote correctly:

"Charm'd magic casements, opening on the foam  
Of perilous seas, in faery lands forlorn."

The druggist, it turns out, has never read Keats, and Mr. Kipling's assumption is that like conditions produce like results—that is, that a consumptive associated even remotely with the medical profession and in love with a girl named Fanny Brand (Keats's Fanny was Brown), may, in a state of physical exhaustion, become a vehicle through which the spirit of Keats shall imperfectly recite his own verse. There is nothing in Mr. Kipling's rendering of the phenomenal incident that compels the reader to accept his assumption, and we doubt whether his positive assertion can force many to agree with a judgment pronounced while the druggist is in the throes of composition: "Remember that in all the millions permitted [millions of verses] there are no more than five—five little lines of which one can say: These are the pure magic. These are the clear vision. The rest is only poetry." Three of the lines are from Coleridge's "Kubla Khan," and two those from the "Nightingale" garbled by the druggist.

"They," another excursion beyond the closed gates of death, is the only tale in the volume that appeals agreeably to a literary sensitiveness. The meaning either of the whole incident or of some detail, which has been much discussed, does not seem to us to matter at all. The picture of the beautiful blind women welcoming spirit children to her lovely, lonely home is exquisitely rendered, with the utmost delicacy, tenderness, and grace. From D'Annunzio's "Virgins of the Rocks," and from no other story, have we received such an impression of

beauty, of perfect harmony of scene, incident, and personality. The impression is strong enough at the end to survive the violent intrusion of Mrs. Madehurst and the superfluous description of the chase for a nurse in a motor car. Mr. Kipling is, we think, wrong in supposing that such incidents could lend reality to a subject that depends for acceptance or rejection on the force of impression made on the imagination. Conviction in such a case is not reached by an array of reasons or external facts.

In the volume under consideration (No. xxii. of Scribner's edition) each tale is preceded by verses, some of which throw light on the tale, while some deepen mystification.

When Stevenson wrote his story of Jekyll and Hyde, he conceived the idea of a man who should repeatedly give way to the baser side of his nature, the lapses from decency becoming more frequent and less regretted till at last the will of Jekyll was completely enslaved to the will of Hyde, his lower self. The torture for the urbane and benevolent Jekyll lay in this, that his intellect remained free, could foresee the fatal end, and must, nevertheless, follow his faithless will—the will of Hyde. Stevenson portrayed the fall of Jekyll symbolically. The author of "The Masquerader" uses a rather similar idea, but without symbolism. She imagines two persons, one possessing both intellect and will in an unusual degree, the other an intellect keen enough, when it is allowed to work, and a will that has gradually become hopelessly enslaved to the morphia habit. These two men are so alike outwardly that the valet of the more prosperous one is as easily deceived as the charwoman of the other.

When the story opens, John Chilcote, M.P., the victim of morphia, has reached the stage when he can no longer rely on his nerves, even for social occasions, while in the House of Commons, where he has a reputation to maintain, he cannot concentrate his attention through a single sitting. At this crisis he stumbles on his double, John Loder, an ambitious and talented hack-writer, and has little difficulty in inducing him to exchange his solitary chambers and hopeless outlook for his own place in society. All minor complications are foreseen and provided for, and Loder steps into Chilcote's shoes. But he is only to wear them intermittently, and so it happens that on every occasion when he has made a brilliant speech or a social success, or convinced Chilcote's long-estranged wife that her husband has really reformed, a telegram from his double recalls Loder to the insupportable monotony of his other life. Meanwhile, he has fallen in love with Chilcote's wife; and now we are introduced to that well-worn piece of romantic psychology, "redemption by love." Loder confesses the truth to Eve Chilcote, and finds that she knows it already; Chilcote had betrayed himself in a moment of nervous breakdown. Together they go to recall Chilcote to his duty, but they come too late. He is dead of an overdose of morphia, and the two accomplices, as they now become, agree that Loder shall quietly reap the benefits, and succeed to the dead man's house, his wealth, his wife, and everything that is his. This includes the Under-Secretaryship for Foreign Affairs in the new Cabinet. The transformation by love has lasted just so long as it takes to drive from Grosvenor Square

to the sordid rooms in which Chilcote died. And so the curtain falls.

It ought to rise again in a sequel in which we might see some of the consequences of this fraud, and learn what sort of man Loder really was. To the reader of this rather well-written and highly improbable tale the interesting problem is to account for the attitude of the writer. We all remember how Mr. Anthony Hope's hero and heroine faced a similar situation. Rupert and Flavia refused to set their individual happiness against certain higher claims—the claims of right and justice. That is to say, they behaved like idealists, and Mr. Hope's readers, being idealists themselves, commended their honesty. "The Masquerader" is written by a woman, and she makes her heroine, whom she represents as a noble and spiritual being, incapable of vulgar aims, appeal to Loder's patriotism (an under-secretary, however, is not usually indispensable to his country) as demanding the fraud they contemplate. That is, if we mistake not, the sophistical use of a purely individualistic philosophy. The author's attitude is quite negative, which is, of course, perfectly good art; she has simply reversed the part usually assigned, even in the modern novel, to the heroine, who, as a rule, still exhorts the hero to self-sacrifice, and sets his duty before him in terms very different from these.

"The Common Lot" is a study of the temptations of a professional man in a commercial society. Jackson Hart is an architect who has received his education at Cornell and his training at the Beaux-Arts. He owes that education and his three years in Paris to the generosity of a rich uncle—a Chicagoan, like himself. He has hardly embarked on his career as a Chicago architect, supported by the conviction that he will be his uncle's heir, when the old millionaire dies, leaving his millions to found an industrial school. Up to this point the architect has set his ideals high of "what a man could do, as Richardson and Atwood had shown the glorious way, toward expressing the character and spirit of a fresh race in brick and stone and steel." But that was when the question of making his own fortune was too remote to interfere. Balked of a ready-made fortune, he promptly discards the ideals and enters the race for wealth without that handicap. Not that he admits, even to himself, that his single and overmastering motive is gain. Hart is a weakling, an Underman, and cheats himself like a weakling. We are not invited to behold the gradual downfall of one who was meant for better things. Mr. Herrick's hero is like Oscar Wilde's—he can resist everything except temptation. His first independent job is a fireproof apartment house, in which, with his knowledge, a fraudulent contractor substitutes wood for steel; the fire-escapes and fireproof partitions are naturally omitted altogether. Meanwhile he has married an idealist, a Chicago girl, to whom he had confided his own artistic ideals before he had to face realities. But her attitude is an essential part of her character, and unfortunately she cannot even see that there is another side, as when she insists that her husband shall revere his uncle for having abandoned the mere individual, his nephew, in order to benefit the industrial community. Plainly, she



has no sense of humor. In the end, when the apartment house has burned down with great loss of life, and even in the business community Hart is permanently disgraced, his wife persuades him to "answer the inarticulate call of the larger world, the call of the multitudes that labor and die without privilege, to share with them the common lot of life." But you cannot make a silk purse out of anything but silk, and though a man of Hart's type may be electrified into a moment of honesty by finding that he is responsible for the death of seventeen persons, his reform will be short-lived. He was a man easily led along the levels; not for long would his wife have dragged him along the heights of her ideals.

The American novelist, unaccustomed to the soot and gloom of an English manufacturing town, always intensifies the grimness of his picture of the business life of Chicago by implying that it is carried on under a perpetual cloud of yellowish smoke. As a matter of fact, its high winds and the bright American sky above and about the city give it an atmosphere relatively brilliant.

#### BOOKS CONCERNING ART.

*Gainsborough and his Place in English Art.* By Sir Walter Armstrong. (Popular Edition.) London: William Heinemann; New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1904.

*Impressionist Painting: Its Genesis and Development.* By Wynford Dewhurst. London: George Newnes; New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1904.

*The Treatment of Drapery in Art.* By G. Wooliscroft Rhead. London: George Bell & Sons; New York: Macmillan. 1904.

*The Art of Caricature.* By Grant Wright. The Baker Taylor Co. 1904.

*Women in the Fine Arts.* By Clara Erskine Clement. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1904.

*The Old Masters and their Pictures.* By Sarah Tytler. Boston: Little, Brown & Co. 1904.

*Classic Myths in Art.* By Julia de Wolf Addison. Boston: L. C. Page & Co. 1904.

Sir Walter Armstrong's book on Gainsborough was reviewed by us on its first appearance, six years ago, and there remains little to say of the present edition save to welcome its appearance in a more popular form. The first issue was a magnificent folio volume with photogravure plates—a book to possess and to glory in, but difficult to read. The eight photogravures, on a smaller scale, with the forty half-tones, still furnish a fair illustration of Gainsborough's art, while the lessened bulk and weight of the volume make it easier to give the text the attention it so thoroughly deserves. Sir Walter Armstrong is worth reading, and it is to be hoped that many will peruse this book who would never have managed it in its former shape. If its success shall lead to a similar reprint of his 'Reynolds' and his 'Turner,' so much the better.

It is surprising that something like Mr. Dewhurst's book on 'Impressionist Painting' has not been sooner attempted. It should be sure of a certain welcome now. Mr. Dewhurst seems to be a painter him-

self, a convinced Impressionist, who has known many of the artists of whom he writes. One opens his volume, therefore, with anticipations which are doomed to disappointment. He has gathered together a good deal of information (most of it, presumably, accurate enough, though there are awkward slips) on the history of Impressionism and the lives of the painters of the school, but he has no gift of exposition, and altogether fails to make clear the aims and methods of Impressionism or the individual qualities of the Impressionist painters. The reader who did not already know, would be left in absolute ignorance of what the "movement" was all about, or why it was worthy of attention—except for a few quotations in the Appendix from Maclair, Brownell, MacColl, and others; and even these are not the best that could be chosen. It is well that a critic should know something of the subject on which he writes; this book is another proof that such knowledge is not of itself sufficient. It is necessary, also, that he should know how to write.

There is a certain inconsequence about Mr. Dewhurst's list of illustrations. One may admit some connection between Turner and Constable and the Impressionist movement, but it is hardly illustrated by the examples of these artists included in the present volume, while the only reason one can find for the admission of two plates after Watts is an incidental confession of personal admiration for that painter on the part of the author. On the other hand, the text speaks of sketches by Toulouse-Lautrec "here reproduced," which nowhere appear. The inclusion of works by Whistler, Carrière, Alexander Harrison, and others is, however, due to the author, who counts these diverse talents as Impressionist, though Whistler, at least, protested vigorously against the application of that name to himself. For any intelligible account of Impressionism we shall still have to rely on M. Camille Maclair's little book, 'The French Impressionists,' but the larger form of the present work marks the promotion of Impressionist art to the "centre-table," while its fuller biographical information will make it convenient for occasional reference.

It was a happy thought to discourse on "the treatment of drapery in art," and Mr. Rhead's little treatise is good as far as it goes, though it might profitably have gone farther. He is quite right in his notion that the subject is greatly neglected in our art schools and has been very insufficiently treated by writers on painting; and even so elementary a work as this cannot fail to supply many useful hints to students. Mr. Rhead is a linear designer by temperament and training, and is very unjust to the painters—he is almost comic in his attack on Tintoretto, whose "St. George and the Dragon" is introduced, apparently, only as a model of what not to do. Yet he quotes with approbation Reynolds's advice that, when the arrangement of a drapery is unsatisfactory, "it is better to take the chance of another casual throw than to alter the position in which it was at first accidentally cast." This may be good advice to beginners, but its inculcation by Reynolds was symptomatic, and sheds light on the haphazard look, happy or the reverse, of his own draperies, which are never

designed as one of the great masters of drapery would have designed them. To the true composer, accident is, occasionally, a useful servant, but it should never be allowed to take matters in hand, and Mr. Rhead's adoption and reinforcement of Reynolds's counsel mark his own limitation. In the chapter on "Drapery in Movement" no mention is made of one of the most useful methods of deriving hints for the design of flying draperies—the use of tissue paper, the natural stiffness of which will hold it in positions closely resembling the effect of wind on light stuffs. It is true that the proper use of this device requires considerable acquired knowledge on the part of the artist, but this is almost equally true of any other. Mr. Rhead's original illustrations are well done, and his examples from the masters are, in general, well selected, and his book may be, provisionally, recommended to art students.

As much can hardly be said for a book of similarly practical intention, Mr. Grant Wright's 'Art of Caricature.' It is meant for a practical guide to the would-be newspaper "cartoonist," but a great part of it consists of such elementary instruction in human proportions, artistic anatomy, and perspective as may be found in a hundred other hand-books, while another good part is made up of biographical sketches of comic draughtsmen. There is a chapter on technical methods which may have some serviceableness, but there is really nothing or next to nothing on the art of caricature, and the illustrations are mostly such as to make one wish that the art had never been invented.

If one were asked, offhand, to name the women who have attained to notable distinction in painting or sculpture, the chances are that one would find oneself at a loss before one had reached the half-dozen; yet Mrs. Clement has been able to find "the names of more than a thousand women whose attainments in the Fine Arts—in various countries and at different periods of time before the middle of the nineteenth century—entitle them to honorable mention as artists," and, by adding "the army of women artists of the last century," she has made up a book equal in bulk (though the type is larger) to her 'Dictionary of Painters, Sculptors, Architects, and Engravers.' How inclusive has been her grasp is shown by the frequent presence of names against which the only entry is: "No reply to circular." Was it worth while to give the names of artists of whom she knew nothing whatever save that they exist? Where there is more information it is often too evident that the "circular" has been answered, and that the artist herself is responsible for what we are told. Of course, the whole book is not of this texture, and perhaps it is better to give too much than too little. As a book of reference, it will have its use in spite of the paucity of dates that was, perhaps, to have been expected.

'The Old Masters and their Pictures' is intended "for the use of schools and learners in art," and is gently condescending in tone and none too accurate as to facts. None but the hungerer after "culture" à la *marché* need waste time over it, or over another book of a familiar type, Julia de Wolf Addison's 'Classic Myths in Art.'

*The United States: A History of Three Centuries, 1607-1904. Population, Politics, War, Industry, Civilization.* By William E. Chancellor and Fletcher W. Hewes. In ten parts. Part I. Colonization, 1607-1697. Putnams. 1904. Pp. xxiii., 533.

This latest aspirant for favor in the field of coöperative history has some novel features. Each of the ten volumes is to be divided into four parts, dealing respectively with population and politics, war and conquest, industry and commerce, and civilization. Under the first division fall "the various phases of discovery, settlement, expansion of territory, immigration, race, government, domestic politics, and international relations." The third section, treating especially of agriculture, manufacture, and commerce, is to be particularly emphasized and made a distinctive feature. The topics of the fourth division are "religion and morality, literature and art, education, and social life." Each of the volumes after the first is also to have a chapter on the European history of the period, so far as related to America, in order to give opportunity for comparison between the achievements, in different epochs, of our own and other countries. The illustrations, save for a frontispiece of Capt. John Smith, are in this volume confined to colored "historical perspectives" (or diagrams) and maps, the latter chiefly in black and white. The diagrams prefacing the several sections exhibit the ingenuity of all such devices, and facilitate comparison of events; for the period covered by the first volume, however, we do not find them especially instructive. There are also other "historical perspectives," which consist of chronological summaries only. The larger maps are useful, but the small sectional maps, of which there are a great many, are as a rule either so fragmentary or so crude as to be of little real service. A few pages at the end offer some brief notes on points in the text, together with miscellaneous lists of books, some of them school manuals, cited as authorities.

The publishers' announcement informs us that, in the division of labor between the authors, Mr. Hewes is responsible for the third section—on industry and commerce—the diagrams, most of the maps, and statistical matters in general, while Mr. Chancellor has done the rest. Of Mr. Hewes's portion it may be said that, while its contribution is slight and its style unadorned, the separate treatment of economic subjects emphasizes a woefully neglected side of American history, and makes the chapters easy and not unprofitable reading. The judgment on Mr. Chancellor's performance must be less favorable. Not only is the substance conventional and slight, and the evidence of first-hand (or even good second-hand) knowledge of the subject conspicuously lacking, but the style is pervaded by "fine writing" and flippant jauntiness. The conscientious critic will note, in passing, that the estimate of the aboriginal population of America as numbering from seventeen to thirty millions (p. 72) is the merest guesswork, and utterly without scientific foundation; that the first Massachusetts charter was not annulled by *quo warranto*, but by *scire facias* (p. 237); and that the Mary-

land charter was not "the model for all later colonial grants" (p. 270) save in a sense which does not appear at all in Mr. Chancellor's account. To criticize Mr. Chancellor's work in detail, however, or to point out wherein he has failed to show essential fitness for his task, would be as profitless as to exhibit at length one's reasons for thinking that the average intelligent schoolboy's composition on Israel Putnam or Abraham Lincoln is not a valuable contribution to historical writing.

One may protest, however, against the intrusion into the text of airy and inept allusions to current controversies, or the cheap comment which does duty with many for historical parallelism. Not to make the list exhaustive, the forced and pointless reference to woman suffrage in connection with Elizabeth and Raleigh (p. 59); to "our years and our districts when famine smites the many to advance the financial interests of the few" (p. 83) as evils from which the "Amerinds" (meaning the American Indians) were free; to the English merry-making as "a periodical debauch of men and women" among "the vulgar English" (p. 227); and to the Spanish Infanta, as the unfortunate girl who happens to be the oldest [sic] daughter of the Spanish King is styled in the matrimonial markets of the royal world" (p. 265), have neither dignity nor point. One dreads to think of a ten-volume work drawn out on such a scale. It is to be hoped that the later volumes may show marked improvement in this as in other respects.

*Rome.* By Walter Taylor Field. Boston: L. C. Page & Co. 1904.

It is true that the ordinary visitor to Rome, if he care to use a book at all for his direction, may well desire something a little more juicy than the typical guidebook, and much more systematically comprehensive than the learned treatises of specialists. The popularity of Mr. Hare's works is sufficient testimony to the felt need. Professor Field has undertaken to meet it by two little volumes, profusely illustrated from photographs, and charmingly printed and bound. They are written in a chatty style, and are designed to lead the traveler, in successive days' trips, around the city and its immediate environs, and then through some of its more important churches and museums, entertaining him with such cheerful running comments as an amiable and well-instructed guide might furnish orally. The author's style sometimes halts grammatically, and his humor is a bit crude and palling, interposing itself unnecessarily in the attempt to give a breezy effect to the whole. As to accuracy of matter, the book exhibits occasionally a curious combination of knowledge of recent technical literature with error in simple things. It is as if the writer had compiled his information from a few popular books, with some "pointers" from archaeological friends, and had not thoroughly assimilated his Rome, either ancient or modern.

He is not always up to date. For example, the Ludovisi sculptures (l. 220) have been resting for some time in the Museo delle Terme; the Church of S. Maria Liberatrice (plan, l. 122) was destroyed sundry years ago (and there is no such space between the Basilica Aemilia and S. Adriano

as the plan shows); the Barberini library (il. 73) has been purchased by the Vatican; we were not aware that the mid-stream arch of the Pons Aemilius had for the last fifteen years or so been connected with the bank by "an uninteresting iron framework," or had served as the ordinary bridge for traffic within that time; and it is news to us that Pasquin (l. 56) now rests in the Vatican Museum. Can this be true? Surely his gossip Marforio (*ibid.*) never reclined in the Subura.

In historical as in archaeological matters the author is frequently at fault. The Caelia Metella of the well-known tomb on the Appian Way (l. 248) was not Sulla's wife; Alba Longa was not built (l. 253) on top of the Alban Mount; the Fountain of Juturna was not the same thing (l. 131) as the Lacus Curtius; the "bases of crumbling pilasters" (*sic*) that "stretch in parallel lines along the surface" of the Basilica Julia (l. 124) are hardly more than thirty years old; the portrait bust that now stands on the sarcophagus of Scipio Barbatus in the Vatican Museum (il. 187) is in no sense a part of the monument; the Arch of Titus does not display (il. 191) "the best historic relief that Rome produced" (how about Trajan's Arch at Beneventum?); and the "Egyptian" obelisk of S. Trinità del Monti is so far from deserving the heroics lavished upon it by Mr. Field (il. 139) that it is not Egyptian at all but a late imperial Roman imitation (*cf. Bull. Com.* 1897, p. 216). Anlo Nova (twice), P. Asinara, Atta Navius are bad Latin. These are but varied samples of manifold errors, which make the book, despite its beauty, a treacherous guide.

*Facts and Figures. The Basis of Economic Science.* By Edward Atkinson. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1904.

To the ordinary man it seems a paradox to maintain that there may be little difficulty in taking the tariff question out of partisan politics. Yet such is Mr. Atkinson's belief, and he gives his reasons for it. If the facts can be made plain, he says, "as to the small relative number of those who attempt to secure profits by taxes on imports, compared to the very large number of those who pay taxes that the Government does not receive; and also as compared to the relatively much greater number of the persons directly interested in free exports and therefore in free imports," the difficulty will be overcome.

Certainly, Mr. Atkinson makes the facts plain. He analyzes the census reports and the custom-house returns, and proves beyond all question that the number of persons profiting by our tariff taxes is extremely small. The value of the product of the farms of this country is not far from five billion dollars; but the value of the wool produced is less than one and a quarter per cent. of this total, and most of this wool is from the great flocks of sheep in the far Northwest. The value of all the farm products subject to foreign competition, even including tobacco, does not exceed two hundred million dollars. Persons engaged in professional service are not exposed to the competition of foreigners, nor are those in personal service or in trades and transportation. In manufactures, mechanic arts, and mining, a careful examination shows that about 6,300,000 are "practically free from the possibility of



an import of a product of like kind from any foreign country." There are subject in part to foreign competition not over 400,000, and subject to urgent foreign competition hardly any more. Making all manner of concessions, we must conclude that less than one million persons engaged in productive industry are in a position to be affected injuriously by free trade, whereas twenty-eight millions would be benefited. Moreover, the advantages resulting from cheaper materials and machinery would more than offset the effect of foreign competition in the case of several hundred thousand out of this million. But in the remnant are many men of vast wealth and great political power.

Whether Mr. Atkinson is too sanguine or not, he deserves honor for his courage and for his industry. He has been at pains to ascertain the facts concerning the cost of our experiment in Imperialism, and he has made them public in defiance of the Government. He repeats his story here, and restates his facts; and he glories in being called a traitor for telling the truth about the conduct of our rulers. Such treason as his is the truest patriotism, and he may say with Lowell of his devotion to his country:

"I love her old renown, her ancient fame:  
What better proof than that I loathe her shame?"

Incidentally, Mr. Atkinson brings out a fact that is little known—that the proportion of persons employed in great factories is diminishing. "The statistics prove a constant increase in the relative proportion of persons occupied in the lesser arts in small workshops." Even the great department stores cause no lessening of the number of small shops. A study of the industries of the city of Boston is of extreme interest as bearing on this point. The tendency is encouraging, and we may share Mr. Atkinson's hope that the small craftsmen, being of some intelligence and independence, may be induced to attend to the evidence which proves how they are hampered by the present tariff.

*The Monroe Doctrine.* By T. B. Edgington. Boston: Little, Brown & Co. 1904.

This is a rather rambling discussion of the Monroe Doctrine and of subjects more or less connected with it, such as the Panama Congress, the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, the French invasion and usurpation in Mexico, and the establishment of the empire of Maximilian; the Venezuelan Boundary; the Canal; the Hague Tribunal, etc. The most valuable part of it, probably, is the discussion (pp. 218-266) of what the author chooses to call the "Calvo Doctrine"—an unfair designation, it would seem, if the author himself is correct in saying (p. 221) that this doctrine is constructed on an "innuendo" conveyed by the text of that eminent writer on International Law, rather than on the text itself. Calvo merely says that a nation's public law does not admit of intervention by foreign nations (p. 221), while the "innuendo" is that a nation can deal with foreigners as it pleases. The author, at any rate, in what he has to say about it would have been more forcible if he had simply remarked that some South American States seem to have a doctrine of their own on the subject of foreigners which needs the careful attention of foreign governments.

Briefly stated, the Venezuelan and Salvadorean statutes provide that a resident foreigner who meets with injustice at the hands of the tribunals of the country in which he resides, may be deprived in some way of the right of appeal to his own country. In Salvador, to take the strongest case, it is provided that a foreigner shall not appeal for redress to his own Government against a positive decision, "even though it may be said that the decision is iniquitous or given against express law." Mr. Edgington shows by a very elaborate and full argument, fortified by authority in a variety of ways, that this is a monstrous pretension, because the well-known principle of international law, that a domiciled foreigner is governed by and submits to the laws of his acquired domicile, is always qualified by the rule that the Government of his own country may inquire into any injustice done him, if it is worth while. As a general rule, he is wholly subject to the laws of his adopted country; but the right to appeal to one's own Government, and the right of that Government to interfere in the interest of its own citizens, cannot be done away by statutes passed by a foreign country. Venezuela insists that a foreigner shall stipulate a waiver of the right as a condition of residence; but it is very doubtful how far any such waiver or stipulation would be recognized, for example, by the United States, as precluding an appeal to Washington from an American citizen in Caracas against plain spoliation. Our Government is not bound by any such waiver; and if it may intervene of its own motion, such a waiver will not prevent. But in this case Venezuela does not go to the length of trying to make the waiver debar from appeal in cases of obvious injustice. On the whole, there is evidence of a desire, so far as possible, to oust the resident foreigner of his right of appeal, but it is not of such momentous importance as the author thinks, and it is far outweighed by the growing tendency of the greater nations to interfere more and more on behalf of their citizens domiciled abroad, and of these citizens to appeal to them for redress on every occasion.

The author is seen at his best in this part of his book; he is strongest in a technical legal argument, weakest in the proper field of international law. He is full of suggestions, some of which are more ingenious than weighty, e. g., that in the exercise of our protectorate of South America (he speaks of the "duty," derived from the Monroe Doctrine, which lies upon our Government to devise "means for preventing revolutions, internecine strifes and wars," and defalcations in South American States) we should get a receiver appointed, possibly by the Hague Tribunal, to administer temporarily upon the affairs of any very bad State, and, after a proper liquidation, set it going again with a legitimate government (p. 297). He makes the suggestion also (ch. xiv.) that the coaling-station question might be solved by allowing neutrals to supply coal *ad libitum* to belligerent vessels touching at their ports. So it might; but as long as nations universally insist on the rules as to contraband being enforced even against ordinary trade, the suggestion seems rather visionary. Extravagance of statement is a foible which the author is not at suffi-

cient pains to avoid. To tell us that the Pacific Ocean is "practically an inland sea within the boundaries of the United States" (p. 112) makes us feel that we may be listening to a stump speech rather than to a discourse on international law.

*The Cathedrals of England: An Account of Some of their Distinguishing Characteristics; together with Brief Historical and Biographical Sketches of their most Noted Bishops.* By M. J. Taber. Illustrated. Boston: L. C. Page & Co. 1904. Pp. viii., 287.

This little book is the third volume of "The Cathedral Series," and in a curious way it explains the puzzling books we have already reviewed, namely, the 'Cathedrals of Northern France' and of 'Southern France,' by Francis Miltoun. The present volume has a short author's foreword, in which it is explained that the principal aim of the book is to give glimpses of the bishops, rulers, and other noted personages who have had to do with the cathedrals. That is comprehensible; and the purpose of the book is furthered by a final chapter entitled "In Explanation," in which are found a good many interesting statements about cathedrals and bishops and croziers, about old foundations and new foundations. Some are naive enough in their way—e. g., "The east end of the church is sometimes round and is then called the apse"; "The garth is the green yard around which the cloisters are built. Another use of the garth and cloisters was for informal disputations among the monks."

The reader will easily see the trick of it. It is a glossary intermingled with innocent little expressions of opinion. One of the paragraphs is devoted to the words *bishop* and *évéque* and their common derivation from *episcopus*. A similar gentle humor is to be found in all parts of the book, and is mingled with a readiness to give a simple sort of quotations and anecdotes from all kinds of authors, which make the volume rather a selection of stories for young folks on idle summer days than a treatise on anything in particular. The jokes and stories need an index, it is true, but then every one can make his own. "Queen Caroline inquired if the author were dead. 'No,' replied Bishop Blackburn, 'but he is buried.' The Queen acted on the hint," etc. Mrs. Taber has made herself familiar with the literature concerning Queen Elizabeth, and is always citing her, choosing rather anecdotes which throw discredit upon that certainly much overpraised sovereign.

The illustrations are several degrees better than those of the two volumes devoted to the cathedrals of France. Some three or four of them are really quite satisfactory photographic prints—small and dark, but explanatory.

#### BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

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American Interior Decoration. Clifford & Lawton. \$2.50 net.  
Architects' Directory, 1904-05. William T. Comstock. \$2 net.  
Atkins, H. G. *Johann Wolfgang Goethe.* London: Methuen & Co. 3s. 6d.  
Avery, Elroy McKendree. *A History of the United States and its People.* Vol. I. Cleveland: Burrows Brothers Co.  
Baddley, St. Clair. *Recent Discoveries in the Forum, 1898-1904.* Macmillan Co. \$1.25.  
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- Beebe, S. P. and B. H. Buxton. *Outlines of Physiological Chemistry*. Macmillan Co. \$1.50.
- Bets, Louis P. *La Littérature Comparée*. 2d ed., enlarged. Strasbourg: Trübner. 6 mk.
- Bevan, Edwyn. *Jerusalem under the High Priests*. Longmans, Green & Co. \$2.50.
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- Bibbins, Ruthella M. *Mammy 'mongst the Wild Nations of Europe*. F. A. Stokes Co. \$1.25.
- Blind, Mathilde. *George Eliot*. Boston: Little, Brown & Co. \$1.25.
- Bonte, Willard. *The Mother Goose Puzzle Book*. Dutton. \$1 net.
- Book-Prices Current. 1904. Vol. XVIII. London: Elliot Stock.
- Breare, W. H. *Vocalism*. Putnams. \$1.25 net.
- Brown, Katharine Holland. *Diane*. Doubleday, Page & Co. \$1.50.
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- Costello, F. H. *Nelson's Yankee Boy*. Henry Holt & Co. \$1.50.
- Cox, Ethel Louise. *Poems, Lyric and Dramatic*. Boston: Richard G. Badger. \$1.50.
- Crocker, Joseph Henry. *The Supremacy of Jesus*. Boston: American Unitarian Association. 80 cents net.
- Cyr, Ellen M. *Graded Art Readers. Book Two*. Boston: Ginn & Co.
- Devine, Edward T. *The Principles of Relief*. Macmillan Co. \$2 net.
- Dinneen, Rev. Patrick S. *Irish-English Dictionary*. London: David Nutt. 7s. 6d. net.
- Dodge, Richard Elwood. *Elementary Geography*. Chicago: Rand, McNally & Co.
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- Haines, Mary Elizabeth. *Index to the Proceedings of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin*. Madison: Published by the Society.
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- Hale, Edward E. *Stories of Adventure—Stories of Discovery*. Boston: Little, Brown & Co. \$1.25 each.
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- History of Columbia University. Columbia University Press.
- History Syllabus for Secondary Schools. Boston: D. C. Heath & Co.
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- Philippine Islands, The. Edited and annotated by Emma H. Blair and James A. Roberts. Vols. XVII. (1609-1616), XVIII. (1617-1620), XIX. (1620-21). Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark Co.
- Pitman, William Dent. *The Quincunx Case*. Boston: Herbert B. Turner & Co. \$1.50.
- Poet's Diary, The. Edited by Laura. Macmillan Co. \$2.
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